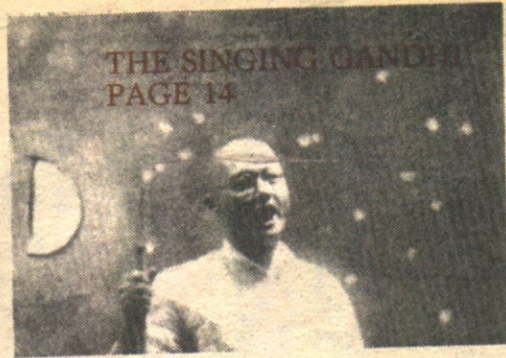


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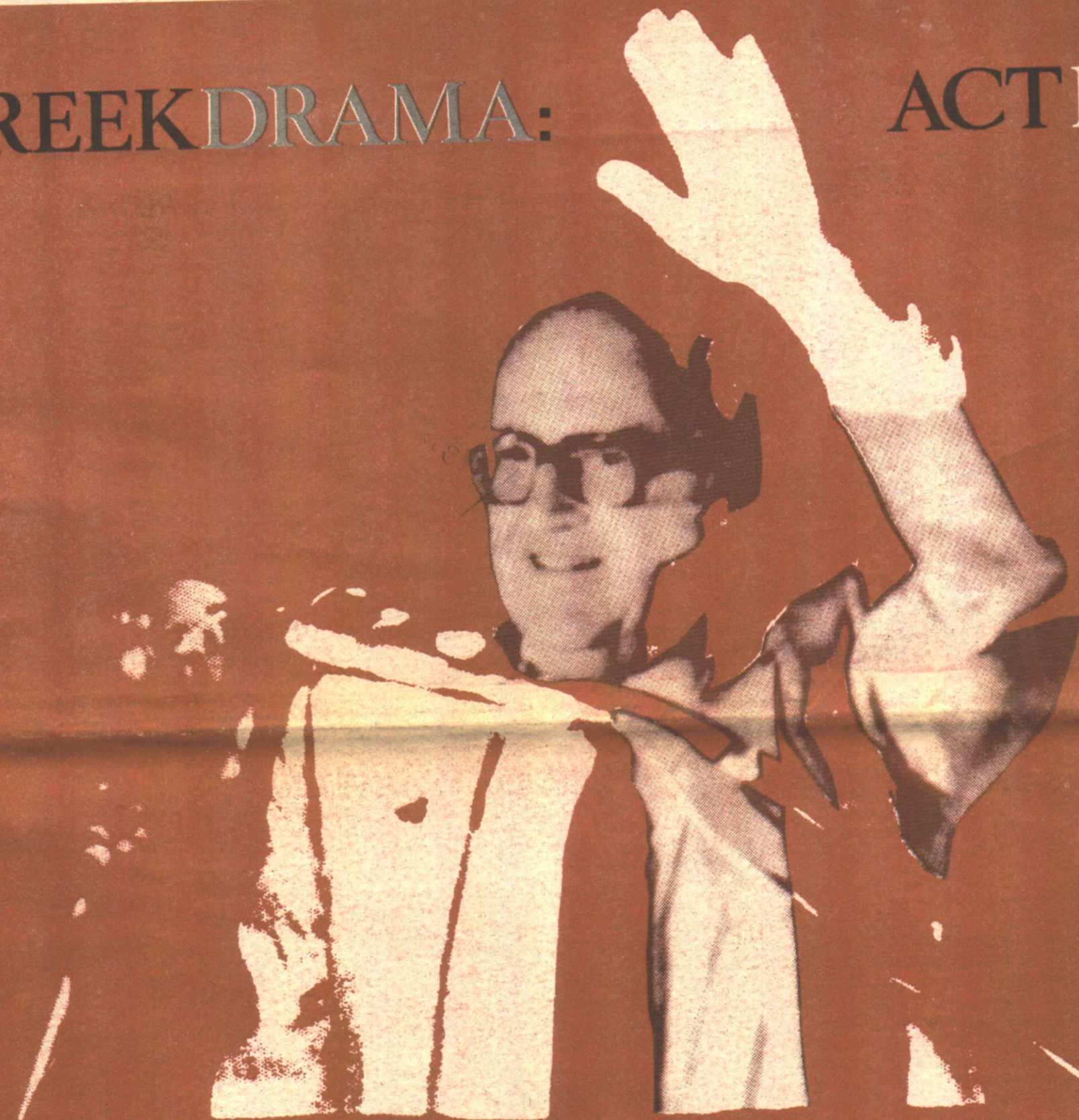
VOL. 6, NO. 4

NOVEMBER 25-DECEMBER 1, 1981

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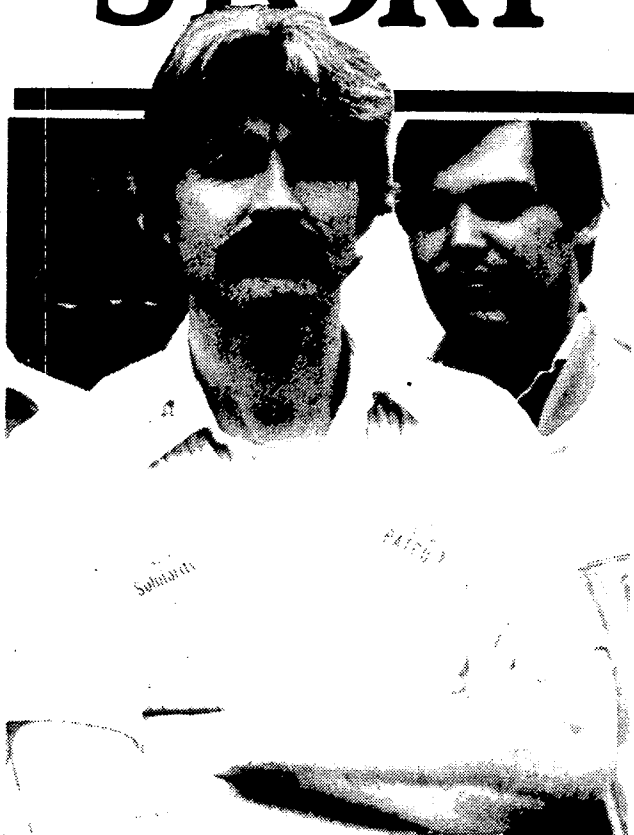


PRESIDENT-ELECT ANDREAS PAPANDREOU

GERM WARFARE IN CAMBODIA

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THE INSIDE STORY



Kevin Brophy, president of PATCO's Boston local, is one of 77 union leaders under federal indictment.

The education of an air controller

By Suzanne Gordon

BOSTON

In mid-October, Kevin Brophy, the 34-year-old president of Boston's Local 215 of the Professional Air Traffic Controller's Organization—and one of 77 controllers who faces indictment for advocating a strike against the federal government—stood before a group of students at the Harvard School of Public Health. This was only one of countless gatherings Brophy has addressed since PATCO went on strike on Aug. 3. Nonetheless, this particular meeting was special. It and the events that followed on that same crisp fall afternoon dramatically illustrated the transformation that's been at work since Brophy and 11,500 other controllers left their jobs with the FAA and took to the picket lines.

Brophy had been asked to explain the stress that air traffic controllers face on the job. Speaking on the conditions that caused the strike to union groups, and even gatherings of businessmen, has become commonplace for him. But for a man who thought he'd abandoned schooling until he went back to night school for six years to get a B.A., lecturing distinguished professors like Robert Weiss of Boston University and Sydney Cobb of Brown is somewhat unexpected.

Standing at the blackboard, drawing diagrams of incoming and outgoing traffic, Brophy graphed the problems that drove controllers to strike. Occasionally he lapsed into air controller jargon, speaking of "deals" (near mid-air collisions), "jamming" (failing to maintain the required separation between aircraft), and "hands-off" (when controllers transfer planes to one another). One could hear the strain in his voice when he described what could happen if a controller makes a mistake. "If you don't give 100 percent attention," he said, "the consequences could be fatal." Faces lit up around the room: the academics, for whom the strike had been merely an abstraction worthy of study, suddenly grasped why thousands of men and women would jeopardize good salaries and steady jobs on such a wild gamble.

Professors Cobb and Weiss then detailed the academic studies on stress, but Kevin Brophy didn't have time to listen to what he already knows—he was late to a demonstration at Logan where 300 PATCO members and other trade unionists from Boston had gathered. When Arthur Osborne, president of the state AFL-CIO, introduced Brophy, the group spontaneously sprang to their feet for an ovation and then crowded out onto the access road to block the traffic bringing air travelers to the airport.

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State highway patrolmen drove up to try to clear the road. Trouble with the police has also become routine for Brophy since a hot night in August when federal marshalls arrived at the PATCO office to inform him he had been indicted on criminal felony charges and faced up to one year in jail. "It was like a scene out of a cop movie," Brophy recounts. "I was backing out of the parking lot when I saw some car come up with its lights off. I flashed my lights to signal to him. But no lights came on. Then suddenly this car comes up and hits me in back, and then the car in front blocks my way. A bunch of guys jump out, pull me out of the car and flash badges and a subpoena."

Unlearning the Golden Rule.

Air traffic control was the best career available to a kid who joined the Air Force at 18 because, as Brophy explains, "when you're a working-class kid who wants to get away from where you are, that's what you do—you join the service." In the Air Force he became a controller and spent eight years in Texas, Mississippi, Maine, Vietnam, New Hampshire and California. Then he became a civilian controller at Logan Tower.

"When I got to Logan, I was appalled," he said. "I couldn't believe it. In the Air Force the rules and regulations and separation standards were strictly adhered to. You didn't have that much traffic so there was no need to run less-than-standard separation. At Logan, because they would schedule more airplanes per hour than they could handle, we were encouraged to cut corners to eliminate delays. The measure of the good controller was the guy who could get as many airplanes on the runway, no matter what happened to the standards and at the expense of passenger safety. You'd have deal after deal after deal—two pilots would miss each other by 200 yards in bad weather and not even know. One controller would look at the other and just go back to work and not say anything."

Brophy became a good controller, a rising star. "I could cut corners better than anyone. Management had great plans for me."

For four years Brophy adhered to what he and other controllers call the "Golden Rule of Silence," where you don't tell on the other guy if he doesn't tell on you. Then, one night, he was talking with a woman he'd met at a cocktail party, explaining some of the routine things that had gone on at Logan that day. Aghast, she asked Brophy whether he had reported the day's mistakes. "No," he replied. "She was irate," Brophy remembers. "She said she'd always felt that when she flew there were people on the ground who were responsible for her safety. She couldn't get over the fact that people were regularly breaking rules. I began to realize that I had to do the job by the standards because I owed it to the people flying out there. I worked for them, not the FAA."

But cleaning up his act was not easy. "You can't change the system by yourself. If you're adhering to the standards, everyone else has to. If I go by the book and no one else does, then I become the guy they want out." The FAA's rising star became a thorn in its side. He became active in PATCO and, later, president of his local and an active leader in the strike.

But being an active union member, particularly of a union like PATCO, which has generally considered itself an elite professional organization and has never forged strong links with other unions, is still far from thinking of oneself as a member of the trade union movement. That is how Brophy, and many others like him, have changed. He now feels he isn't just fighting for PATCO, he's fighting for all workers—even those

who aren't yet organized. About a month ago, for example, he took several hours off from a hectic speaking schedule to drive up to New Hampshire to collect a \$22 donation from a group of clockmakers who had just won a union representation election. It wasn't much money, and there were few people at the meeting. But "to those people," Brophy explains, "\$22 was an enormous sum. I wanted to get the check personally because I felt the PATCO strike was a big event in the labor movement and I wanted to give them a sense—just as they were beginning to organize—that they had a direct involvement in something larger."

Now, when he talks at union rallies and meetings, Brophy speaks of the military-industrial complex and how its priorities affect working people. Giving an address at the state AFL-CIO, he was polite but firm about the threat the labor movement faces from the right and what it has to do about it. "We complain that labor law has tied our hands and that's why we can't support one another in a strike like this. If we don't start to show solidarity now there won't be anything left. We can't politely ask the people who've tied our hands to please untie them. We have to do it ourselves."

Despite his rousing and articulate speeches, being in the public arena is difficult for Kevin Brophy. He gets nervous when it comes to making speeches and hates to impose—when, for instance, he must ask people to contribute money to the PATCO strike. But more than this, it is not easy to ask people to continue making sacrifices when the outcome is far from certain.

"People are really suffering. We've had two suicides. One striker's wife killed herself and another guy gassed himself in his car. The FAA is sticking guys with moving bills of \$9,000 to \$16,000 if they were transferred and went on strike before they'd been in their new place of work for a year or more. The administration has ordered the FHA to evict anyone with an FHA mortgage who misses one payment. It's incredible how punitive they're being."

Brophy's own personal sacrifices are also wearing. He's already used up most of his savings. He gets \$55 a week for gas. But when his car recently died on him, he didn't have the money to repair it and had to borrow a fellow striker's truck. Separated from his wife and three children, he's been living in a friend's condominium for several months. But that is up for sale and he has no money to get a new apartment. "I live in someone else's house, drive someone else's car, and have no money," he says wearily after a day trying to help strikers find temporary work, as cab drivers or apple pickers or truckers—jobs that pay \$4 or \$5 an hour.

Moreover, Brophy still faces a trial and a potential one-year jail term. The union has no way to pay for his legal fees and he knows that if the government rehires only some of the striking controllers, he, with his record of militancy, will not be one of the elect.

But Kevin Brophy is in for the duration and then some. The media, he says, may report that the strike is over. The public may feel it's a dead issue. But it's become Brophy's life. For Brophy, the PATCO strike, in fact, is just a preface.

Suzanne Gordon is an editor of *Working Papers* magazine.

We Never Publish a Turkey!



In *These Times* takes a week off for Thanksgiving. The next issue will be dated Dec. 9-15, 1981.

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IN THESE TIMES



AFL-CIO leaders inch toward a more aggressive stance

By David Moberg

NEW YORK

AS MORE THAN 800 AFL-CIO delegates met for their centennial convention, the labor movement faced one of its periodic low points: membership is declining as a percentage of the workforce; traditional union strongholds have been disrupted by plant closings and by rapid geographic, technological and industrial shifts; demands for contract concessions are widespread; and labor's political influence is at a low ebb.

But a sense of crisis was not generally evident on the floor of the convention, held in New York on Nov. 16 to 19, but though there were signs of movement toward a greater assertiveness by the leaders of organized labor, provoked by private worries about their current predicament and by anger with President Ronald Reagan. The process of adaptation has been slow, however, and the federation still balanced its few progressive steps with retrograde fumbles in other areas.

The beginnings of labor resistance to political and economic contraction have also generated some innovations. The Solidarity Day demonstration, a break from AFL-CIO tradition, has inspired plans for a more aggressive campaign in the 1982 elections—Solidarity Day II. At the convention the AFL-CIO continued to consolidate a more central role for labor in political affairs that it had already begun to stake out, aided by a two-step, 42 percent increase in dues paid by affiliates. Much of the additional money will go to an expanded Committee on Political Education (COPE) under the new direction of John Perkins, who supervised organization of Solidarity Day.

Lane Kirkland not only was re-elected without opposition—ending the speculation raised when he first succeeded George Meany two years ago that he might be a caretaker-transitional president—but also strengthened his hand within an often-fragmented labor movement, which has recently tried to pull itself together on various fronts, organizing international cooperation, mergers, and, possibly, smoother resolutions of squabbles over jurisdictions as well as politics.

"I can see the role of the AFL-CIO becoming stronger in relation to the affiliates," Kenneth Brown, president of the Graphic Arts union, said. "Solidarity Day has won Kirkland and the AFL-CIO a role politically that it never had before. Measure the frustration here; the void can only be filled by a more centralized federation. That flows from the inability of individual attempts to solve their problems."

Anger with the Reagan administration framed the decisions of the convention and provoked Kirkland to deliver a well-crafted, vitriolic and much-admired

speech opening the convention. Reagan, Kirkland said, "has shown a cold heart and a hard fist, but, where, indeed, is the rest of him? It is one thing to use the full force of government to break a small union of hard-pressed public employees. That, I suppose, does express the harshest construction of the law and is, perhaps, unpopular. But is it then just and fitting to go out upon the field and shoot at the wounded?"

Kirkland's venom was most humorously directed at budget director David Stockman. "What can we who oppose the domestic policies of this administration from the beginning now say that is one-half as devastating as the recorded fleeting spasms of honesty of its leading hatchetman?" Kirkland asked. "What provoked his candor one can only guess. But you don't have to be an old sailor to know what it means when the smartest rat on board heels for the hawse pipe."

"Lest you feel a twinge of human sympathy for his public embarrassment, let me remind you that this is the man who once coldly declared that no one is entitled to anything from one's government.... He was the original interior decorator of this economic house of ill repute. Now that the sirens are sounding and the bust is due, he has his story ready. He was only the piano player in the parlor. He never knew what was going on upstairs."

The AFL-CIO abandoned its customary show of nominal independence from the two main political parties by inviting only Democratic officeholders and, for the first time, decided not to invite the president to address the convention. Ted Kennedy beat out Fritz Mondale on the applause meter as both rehearsed predictable encomiums of labor's goals and exhortations of Reaganism. House Speaker Tip O'Neill pleaded for a marriage of labor and Democrats, but it seemed that no ceremony would be needed for what is an increasingly tight de facto union. Solidarity was the watchword not only for the Polish labor organization (originally Lech Walesa was to come and receive the first George Meany human rights award) and the Solidarity II election campaign, but also in busy backroom discussions of potential mergers among beleaguered unions and in the message for strengthening the AFL-CIO's role in adjudicating intra-union turf disputes (particularly acute in public employee organizing).

Another sign was the new coordinated organizing drive in Houston, involving 40 unions, that was launched last month after four years of preparation. There were also renewed pledges of solidarity with the striking air controllers, though the executive council turned down calls from Californian union locals for a national day of action in support of PATCO for fear that such a call would fall on deaf ears.

Twelve years ago the AFL-CIO left the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the major non-

Communist union federation, largely because many European unions wanted to maintain relations with Communist-led unions in Eastern and Western Europe. Next January the AFL-CIO will rejoin the ICFTU without conditions, a reflection not only of its slightly more open approach to foreign policy, but also of a practical move in an era of multinational corporate expansion and rising trade disputes.

Kirkland also took pains in his keynote address to separate himself from the Jeane Kirkpatrick-Alexander Haig argument that "authoritarian" right-wing regimes are worthier of support than "totalitarian" left-wing regimes—a position that had sympathy among the most determined cold warriors in labor's international affairs circle. "On the vital issue of human rights," Kirkland said, the administration has "sought to pose a fine choice between lice who are authoritarian and lice who are totalitarian. We reject such a choice, and we call instead for freedom of association everywhere as the keystone of a genuine human rights policy."

Old habits die hard.

The AFL-CIO also encouraged greater use of new tactics to enhance union power, in particular the "corporate campaign" that tries to find the previously unexploited pressure points of corporations that are being organized, such as their ties to other businesses and financial institutions. Potentially even more significant, the federation endorsed greater union control of pension funds to advance workers' interest in

gages without lowering the return on investment that pension funds now earn.

But despite tougher talk on Reaganism, the new openings on foreign relationships, the encouragement of innovative tactics and the move toward solidarity, the old-guard leadership gives ground hesitantly. In the most significant instance, a group of 20 to 30 black union officers were asked to submit recommendations for a black to fill one of the five vacancies on the 35-member executive council (there has been one black and, just recently, one woman on the council). But the people they recommended—especially United Food and Commercial Workers vice-president Addie Wyatt, but also including AFSCME secretary-treasurer William Lucy and Steelworkers vice-president Leon Lynch—were passed over after a long, difficult executive council debate. Instead the council picked Barbara Hutchinson, 34, a little-known black director of women's affairs at the American Federation of Government Employees. She has been in the union only four years. And she was not on the black leaders' nominating list.

In a rare move, the one black executive council member, Frederick O'Neal of the Associated Actors and Artists Union, and Lucy both rose on the convention floor to indicate very circumpectly their displeasure at the blacks' suggestions being passed over. It was the only ripple of disagreement in a convention where any real argument took place in private committee meetings.

"Nobody knows the lady," Lucy said later of Hutchinson, "and if they



UAW president Douglas Fraser confers with Lane Kirkland.

Speakers called for more innovative tactics in organizing and greater control over pension funds.

collective bargaining, plant closings, occupational safety and equal employment as well as to direct money into projects to provide union members with jobs and workers with needed goods. For example, Stan Arnold, head of the Michigan building trades, is attempting to get all Michigan unions to put 2 percent of their pension funds into a housing program that could provide jobs for construction workers and medium-priced homes at much-reduced mort-

wanted to nominate her, why the frig ask us? It was just a piece of contempt that wasn't required." James Wright, a regional director of the United Auto Workers, was even more disappointed. "She [Hutchinson] got it because she was the most conservative one of the bunch and Addie was the most radical. We've got to do better than that. You wouldn't think in 1981 they'd do something like this. They were acting like they were back in the '50s."

IN SHORT

Partying for peace

During the first two weeks of December, more than 1,500 households (at last count) in California will take the Tupperware-Party concept to a higher moral level. Californians for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze, a group that encompasses hundreds of organizations and individuals, has organized these "petition parties" to launch a statewide ballot initiative that calls on the governor to press the federal government for a halt to the production, deployment and testing of nuclear weapons. According to Marvin Schachter, co-chair of the California effort, 346,000 signatures are needed to place the measure on the November 1982 ballot—but organizers are shooting for half a million so they can have a cushion against the inevitable invalidations.

Bipartisan ashes

The California doings—along with anti-arms races in many other states—fall under the banner of the national Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. Helping Illinois to kick off its part of the campaign at a recent Chicago press conference was economist John Kenneth Galbraith, who noted that "after a nuclear war, you won't be able to tell the ashes of a liberal from the ashes of a conservative." Ron Freund of Clegy and Laity Concerned, the group that set up the press conference, told "In Short" that initial efforts in Illinois would focus on building a base that is broad enough to support a statewide ballot measure.

Say wha'?

Generating wide support for the anti-arms race can call for just the right turn of phrase for each type of audience. Dr. Helen Caldicott, president of Physicians for Social Responsibility, had some nifty attention-getting suggestions to offer at a conference on campus militarism held recently at the University of Wisconsin. For instance, Brooks Egerton reports, Caldicott spoke of when she had to get a message across to a group of rowdy trade-unionists: "I found if I talked about their testicles and their children they shut up." There presumably were fewer communication problems when Caldicott spoke at last month's massive antinuclear rallies in Europe. Europeans, she said, are "panicked." Some Americans, at least, were panicked enough to attend the Veterans Day teach-ins on the threat of nuclear war that the Union of Concerned Scientists helped to organize on the campuses of 150 colleges and universities in 41 states.

Concerned clergy

The *National Catholic Reporter* has editorialized that "the decade will not pass without 'Catholic' becoming synonymous with 'antiwar' and 'peace' and 'protest.'" Recent pronouncements by American bishops seem to be bearing out that prediction. On Nov. 17, Archbishop John R. Roach, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, told a gathering of the church's hierarchy that "the church needs to say 'no' clearly and decisively to the use of nuclear weapons." Roach also took the occasion to criticize the planned escalation of the military budget under Reagan: "In the past it was assumed in the U.S. that we could spend whatever we decided for defense and still be a compassionate society. That assumption today is denied in fact. What is spent for guns directly reduces what is available for the quality of care and life for the least among us."

Already, more than a dozen Catholic bishops from Alaska to Florida have taken similar stands. And some have gone further, advocating specific action. Bishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle has suggested tax resistance as a possible way of protesting American nuclear policy, according to *The Monitor*, a Catholic newspaper in California's Bay Area. Bishop Leroy Matthiesen of Amarillo, Texas, issued a statement in August questioning the morality of working in the neutron-warhead-building industry. And last month, Archbishop John R. Quinn of San Francisco marked the eighth centenary of the birth of St. Francis of Assisi with a pastoral letter declaring that "a 'just' nuclear war is a contradiction in terms" and that "nuclear weapons and the arms race are essentially evil." The archbishop invited Catholics to join him in praying and fasting—and working—"for bilateral disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons."

A Republican meltdown

Even in the shadow of Three Mile Island, Jane Perkins was the only antinuclear candidate running for the Harrisburg, Pa., City Council ("In Short," Oct. 28). Well, she won. Susan Jaffe reports that the Perkins victory was part of a Democratic sweep that stripped the Republicans of their council majority and knocked the incumbent Republican out of the mayor's office. Perkins, also unique in that she was the only woman entered in the council race, had been endorsed by a winning combination of women's and antinuclear groups, as well as the Harrisburg AFL-CIO Central Labor Council.

—Josh Kornbluth



On Nov. 9—while Big Oil shmoozed with Energy Secretary James Edwards during the American Petroleum Institute's annual convention at Chicago's Conrad Hilton—5,000 people outside protested the API's pitch for accelerated decontrol of natural gas prices. The action was initiated by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition and National People's Action, the groups that had sponsored a well-attended conference a day earlier on how to lobby against gas decontrol.

U.S. won't try to clear the air

Cubans may be able to tune in the U.S. version of reality starting early next year, when the State Department plans to put a Radio Free Europe-type radio station beamed at Cuba on the air. The goal, says national security advisor Richard V. Allen, is to "tell the truth to the Cuban people about their government's domestic mismanagement and its promotion of subversion." Incredibly, it will be called Radio Marti—for Jose Marti, the turn-of-the-century Cuban writer and independence leader—and U.S. officials reportedly hope to win congressional approval in time to get the station started by Marti's birthday in January.

The choice of name is either a fine example of newspeak or testimony to abysmal ignorance. Marti argued fiercely for a united Latin American sense of identity to resist U.S. imperialism, drawing his authority from his intimate experience of the U.S. He lived in New York from 1880 to 1895 before becoming an early casualty in the Cuban war of independence.

Radio Marti, with its \$10 million start-up budget, is only the latest event in a two-decade-old conflict between the U.S. and Cuba over rights to the airwaves. Cuban leaders have repeatedly protested Miami-based stations blanketing their country and overpowering their stations.

(That one of the Miami stations is Radio Marathon—a Voice of America outlet that has been in operation for nearly 20 years—raises questions about the need for Radio Marti.)

The U.S. has refused to negotiate with Cuba on the radio issue in the past. Recently, in fact, the FCC granted five Florida stations an increase in power to override Cuban stations on the same frequency. Cuba wants to increase power on its own stations and intends to establish two stations that could cover the continental U.S.—though officials here doubt the Cubans have the technical capacity to do so.

The State Department's announcement appears timed to demonstrate a brazen lack of good faith as its delegates enter an international conference on AM broadcasting going on in Rio de Janeiro until mid-December. Though Cuban-American disagreements were to be a featured item of negotiations, there are plenty of other diplomatic sore spots. North and South American nations have long clashed on the subject of competing claims to space on the radio dial.

The U.S. has shown ill grace toward other countries besides Cuba on its way to the negotiating table. In May 1980 for example, the FCC began accepting applications for clear radio channels that the Canadians have been assuming would stay clear for negotiating at the conference. But even some members of the U.S. delegation saw the Radio Marti announcement as a

signal of open contempt for negotiating.

In 1881 Marti warned, "The hour is fast approaching when our [Latin] America will be confronted by an enterprising and energetic nation seeking closer relations, but with indifference and scorn for us and our ways." The State Department's idea of a birthday party for him may be the perfect example.

—Pat Aufderheide

He came from central casting

PARIS—Pentagon-Hollywood productions did some shooting on location here on Oct. 12, featuring U.S. embassy charge d'affaires Christian Chapman as the clean-cut good guy. Chapman was perfectly cast as the unrattled diplomat who good-humoredly faced television cameras to describe how he had just escaped from a terrorist assassin on his way to work that morning.

Chapman was flanked by a plump adolescent Marine guard, whose parody of military virtue—cap down over his eyes (if he had any), hand tensely clutching the pistol in his holster—almost stole the show. Behind him, an unidentified character—a strategist, perhaps?—watched Chapman's performance with chortles of satisfaction and furtive glances at the audience, like a theatrical agent about to make lucrative bookings.

Speaking fluent French (Chapman was born in France in 1921 and was decorated for flying with the Free French in World War II), the American diplomat gave a precise description of his assailant: about 30 years old, dark eyes, a pointed black beard, a "Middle Eastern type." A slur? Certainly not, since Chapman stressed how he had admired the young man's good looks....

This was enough to enable Alexander Haig in Washington to conclude instantly that the fiendish terrorist was "clearly of Middle East origin" and more likely than not sent by Libyan Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi.

Question: are Libyans "Middle Eastern types" or "North African types"? A few days earlier, another American diplomat in Paris, Abraham Katz (the new U.S. ambassador to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), complained that his car was followed by four men of "North African appearance."

All this proves that our streets are unsafe so long as Libyan leader Qaddafi is loose in the world.

Recalling reports that Libyans have been trained by CIA and Green Beret vets, a French journalist commented that he wasn't at all surprised that the assassin had completely missed hitting anything with the seven bullets fired point blank at the unprotected diplomat.

—Diana Johnstone

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

EL SALVADOR

Stage is set for a replay of Tonkin Gulf

By Frank Viviano

OMINOUS SIGNS HAVE PROLIFERATED in recent weeks that suggest that the political war of words between the United States, Cuba and Nicaragua may soon explode into open military conflicts in Central America. After months of steadily increasing tension over possible intervention in El Salvador, steps now are being taken toward a general collision in the region.

Among the indications that matters have reached the brink are several unusual developments:

- With Salvadoran guerrilla forces currently in control of as much as 50 percent of the rural countryside, Secretary of State Alexander Haig has begun warning that the war soon will be lost unless the United States takes "decisive" action to isolate guerrillas from any outside assistance. Options now under consideration include a blockade of Nicaragua, demonstrations of air and naval power off Cuba and a military-supply blockade of the island.

- Fidel Castro has ordered an almost unprecedented mobilization of Cuban military units. Anti-aircraft batteries are manned, troops are at their stations and civil defense preparations are under way in what observers say is the most extensive military alert in Cuba since the 1962 missile crisis.

- A similar mobilization and around-the-clock alert has been mounted in Nicaragua. On Nov. 15, the Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States was recalled to Managua, and a Nicaraguan diplomat still in this country said that his government expects some form of military action—a ground invasion by Guatemala, Honduran and Nicaraguan exiles or even U.S. troops, perhaps supported by air strikes—"at any moment."

- Honduran army units have begun moving some 25,000 Salvadoran refugees inland from camps along the Sempul and Lempa Rivers, which mark the boundary



between Honduras and El Salvador. Rumors are rife among refugee workers there that the move will be followed by the long-awaited "Operation Sandwich," in which Salvadoran troops will be airlifted into Honduran border regions for a rear assault against El Salvador's guerrilla-controlled provinces of Cabanas and Chalatenango.

Since the Reagan administration took over the reins of U.S. foreign policy last January, American diplomacy in this region has been framed by mounting hostility toward Cuba and Nicaragua and steady support for regimes in San Salvador and Guatemala City. For months, the volatil-

ity of this formula has been brought clearly to Washington's attention. Early on Cuba made repeated overtures to the new administration, hoping to clear the way for a more rational relationship and the resumption of trade. But it was rebuffed time and time again, and now has withdrawn into a defensive posture.

Nicaragua, too, chose not to take Reagan's early hostility at face value and attempted to forge a working relationship with the administration. As recently as the first week of November, Nicaraguan ambassador Arturo Cruz was lobbying hard at the State Department for a dialog between Managua and Washington. But Secretary Haig's recent warnings and increased military coordination among the Honduran, Guatemalan and Salvadoran armies—all supplied and advised by the United States—have forced Nicaragua to think the unthinkable and prepare for invasion.

The administration has also had ample warning from its NATO partners, notably West Germany and the Netherlands, that its current Central American policy would enjoy no support across the Atlantic. France and Mexico have been even more emphatic, publicly acknowledging the legitimacy of the Salvadoran opposition and distancing themselves from the U.S.-backed junta.

And finally, the administration has received an implicit message that direct intervention in Central America would be met by considerable domestic opposi-

tion—opinion polls continue to show Americans overwhelmingly against foreign military involvements.

The simple truth is that the administration has painted itself into a very difficult diplomatic corner: Despite the sound advice of its own allies, dissension over policy in its own ranks, the spectre of domestic division and protest and manifold opportunities to reduce tensions rather than inflate them, it has proceeded along a direct path to an unnecessary confrontation. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how the administration can now escape intervention with grace, given its frequent repudiation of such past "failures of nerve" as Iran and Vietnam.

The destruction of 23 bridges in El Salvador by guerrillas in recent weeks has heightened the sense that it is time for the United States to put up or shut up. Those bridges may well serve—much as the Gulf of Tonkin incident did in 1964—as a questionable pretext for forceful U.S. military action. Without producing a shred of evidence, the administration now is charging that the sabotage was not carried out by guerrillas at all, but by a brigade of 500 Cuban troops smuggled in by the Nicaraguans.

In the days ahead, frayed nerves may calm and the crisis somehow subside. But tensions in Central America have never been higher than they are at the moment, and the evidence is strong that some sort of climax is near at hand.

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Does the State Dept. dare?

WASHINGTON—The majority of people around the capitol believe that recent threats of U.S. military action in Central America are merely "grand theater" intended to scare the Cubans and Nicaraguans. But at least one noted expert has warned that a U.S. naval blockade against Nicaragua may be imminent.

If Washington does restrain itself from military action, observers believe, it will only be because the guerrillas in El Salvador are still far from taking power. Also, since January, the Cubans appear to have stopped the arms flow to the Salvadoran rebels, thus removing the grounds for a blockade. State Department sources say that military options are only "under study" and will probably be rejected in the interagency discussions that will exhaustively weigh the costs and benefits of any proposed move.

This is also the opinion of retired Admiral Gene R. LaRocque, director of the Center for Defense Information here. A "blockade" of Nicaragua—actually stopping Cuban ships on the high seas—would make us look like "the bullies of the North," he says. Cuba could easily circumvent a selective blockade of its ships by chartering Panamanian or other vessels and listing nonmilitary items on their manifests. A true blockade, LaRocque notes, normally means keeping all ships of the blockaded country in harbor, which the world would not stand for.

But American University political scientist William Leogrande argues that a naval blockade of Nicaragua is the next likely step because it would be the "least costly" of the military moves now under study. Under his scenario, U.S. ships would stop Cuban vessels on

the high seas to inspect them for weapons. They "probably wouldn't find anything," professor Leogrande said, but that could change if former Somocista National Guards invade Nicaragua from Honduras, at which point Cuba would feel compelled to come to Nicaragua's aid, trying to fight its way through the blockade and thus risking a naval confrontation.

Leogrande cites the deteriorating situation in El Salvador as the driving force behind serious U.S. consideration of military action. Though predominant opinion in Washington is that the guerrillas are still far from victory, there is general agreement that trends are going against U.S. policy.

Meanwhile, the U.S. intelligence agencies continue to debate the Sandinista's role in supplying arms to Salvadoran guerrillas. Cubans and Nicaraguans now privately confirm that they were supplying weapons last year, but insist they have stopped doing so now. Arms still flow through Nicaragua. Under U.S. pressure, the government has tried to prevent the flow but cannot stop it entirely, any more than it can control the capital flight that is draining its economy.

As the war remains stalemated, pressures build on the administration to consider negotiations. The administration's public position is to favor elections, not negotiations. But as a State Department spokesman said privately, the United States has no objections to unconditional discussions about the elections, and one can talk about many things in connection with elections.

—Jim Morrell,
Center for International Policy

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EUROPE



Greece can't please everyone

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE SOCIALIST VICTORY IN Greece is a particularly meaningful sign of Europeans' growing yen to shake off the two-power-bloc system imposed at the end of World War II. "France in the west and Greece in the east, together we shall change Europe!" declared Andreas Papandreou just after voters gave an absolute parliamentary majority to his Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party (Pasok) in Oct. 18 elections.

"The dream Greeks had during and just after the war—the dream of a truly independent Greece, with greater social justice—turned into a nightmare with the civil war," Papandreou told journalist Philip Brooks just before the elections. "Pasok has revived that dream."

Brooks notes that, up to now, Greece has been "the only country in Europe that doesn't glorify its anti-Nazi resistance." Yet the Greek resistance movement EAM was the strongest in Europe, with up to two million members in 1944 out of a population of less than eight million. But Churchill and Stalin agreed in October 1944 to divide the Balkans into spheres of influence, giving Britain a free hand in Greece. This was four months before the Yalta conference, whose name stuck to the deal.

EAM wanted a republic, but Churchill was determined to restore the monarchy. Churchill wrote later that "Stalin adhered strictly and faithfully to our agreement" and made no objection when British troops in December 1944 began shooting down the Greek anti-fascists.

In 1947, Truman officially launched the Cold War and the Truman Doctrine by calling on Congress to fund a U.S. continuation of British policy in Greece, which incidentally meant keeping the collaborationist far right in the government. "We had to back not the good guys but the bad guys in Greece," Wyoming senator Dale McGee said later. "It was a case of putting first things first." The "first things" were that EAM was led by Communists.

It's taken some 40 years since the Nazi invasion for the "good guys" to win in Greece. Of course, they have changed. Pasok, founded at the end of the colonels' dictatorship in 1974, marks a break with a political class tainted by long subservience to Anglo-American dictates, but also with a Communist left tainted by subservience to Moscow.

Pasok's notion of socialism is vague. The campaign was largely oratorical, with much spoken rhetoric and few written texts. Papandreou has said that "the break with capitalism is not for tomorrow," and indeed in a country where a third of the population is still engaged in traditional agriculture on farms of only a few acres—while the small working class is dispersed in thousands of small family shops—there is little base for a socialism conceived in terms of a large industrial working class massed in factories. Papandreou also insists that Pasok is "not a social-democratic party seeking only to open up new outlets for multinational monopolistic capitalism."

If socialism is not a realistic immediate objective, it is a long-term goal, an ideal to guide and justify reforms and policies considered to be in the interests of the Greek people as opposed to the interests of multinational capitalism and U.S. strategy. Pasok is the most clearly nationalist of Europe's socialist parties, the most outspokenly critical of U.S. imperialism, because Greece has suffered more than any other Western European country from the Yalta arrangement. But the choice of socialism as a vehicle for the assertion of independence is not unique. Francois Mitterrand has observed that "if Europe remains capitalist, that capitalism will not be European." The capitalist system is increasingly synonymous with American cultural and political domination.

The Greek socialists were encouraged, not to say emboldened, by the French Socialist victory last May. "The situation in France helps us a lot," Papandreou says.

East-West by North-South.

Greece is a point where East-West meets North-South, and it has made its bold break from the Yalta setup at a dangerous moment when East-West tension has been renewed, in large part to confuse the more fundamental issue of North-South conflict. Greece stands in the middle of all this.

Greek lack of enthusiasm for NATO is understandable. Greece's hereditary enemy, Turkey, is its ally in NATO. On the other hand, Greece has fine relations with Libya, currently the main target of unfriendly attention from U.S. military forces operating out of the bases in Greece.

Greeks also resent the fact that "the United States and NATO inspired, supported and financed the colonels' junta," as Papandreou recalls.

Greece left NATO in August 1974 after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, but returned last year. "Of its two satellites, the United States shows favoritism to Turkey," Papandreou wrote four years ago. In part, he explained, this is because "Turkey is of more vital importance, it has a common border with the Soviet Union, it controls the Dardanelles Straits, it has a much larger population and can thus be used as a *gendarme* by the U.S. in the Middle East."

Greece has some 3,500 islands scattered across the Aegean sea. Because of these islands and the six-mile offshore boundary, 35 percent of the Aegean* is Greek territorial waters, 56 percent international and only 9 percent Turkish. Turkey grumbles at feeling crowded by the Greek isles close to its shore, especially since oil (in small quantities) was discovered off the Greek island of Thasos. The potential Turkish threat in the Aegean is Greece's main defense problem, and all NATO provides is a channel for the much more powerful and numerous Turkish armed forces to be informed about Greek de-



Pasok supporters celebrate the party's election victories.

fense forces.

Still, Greece does not dare break away. Papandreou, after his election, hastened to reassure Americans that he recognized that "America is a superpower" with "its own strategic, vital interests in the region" and that "it would be foolish to move toward confrontation between Greece and the United States." At most, the Greek government will ask the U.S. to remove nuclear weapons stockpiled on Greek soil, and to allow Greece "the right to annual review" of U.S. bases. This would mean granting Greece "complete information and control" to prevent "the launching of some military operation from Greek soil against a third country with which we maintain good relations."

This "third country" sounds like Libya. Though NATO is supposed to be a defense pact to protect Western Europe from Soviet aggression, and has absolutely no mandate to get involved outside Europe, the *Washington Post* reported late last month that the two U.S. electronic surveillance planes operating out of Hellenikon base near Athens head south to spy on Libya on almost every one of their daily flights.

While the U.S. is huffing and puffing to blow Qaddafi's house down, the Greeks are doing good business with Libya. Under a 1979 agreement, Libya supplies Greece with one-third of its oil needs at the special low price Libya grants underdeveloped and nonaligned countries. Greece in return provides Libya with fruit and vegetables, shoes and pharmaceutical goods, but especially with the services of Greek technicians working in Libya.

In general, Greece has excellent relations with Arab and African countries, and sells them technological know-how, notably in port installation construction. In recent years, as a result of the war in Lebanon, Athens has been replacing Beirut as a main international business center for the Middle East.

Such fruitful independent trade between Europe and the Arab world would be seriously disrupted by the war the U.S. is preparing for in the Middle East. Indeed, more and more Europeans think, but do not dare say, that such disruption is one real purpose of such a war, which the U.S. pretends will be needed to stop a purely hypothetical "Soviet takeover of the oil fields." Rather, the U.S. strategic purpose is to maintain control of Europe, even if NATO falls apart, by tightening American control of Europe's oil supply.

Pasok has been highly critical of Greek membership not only in NATO but also in the European Economic Community (EEC). But rather than withdraw from either, it will probably merely try to negotiate better terms. If Greece was let into the Common Market so quickly, while much more eager Spain is kept out, this is certainly because Greece brings to the EEC its enormous commercial fleet, mostly operated with flags of convenience and cheap third world labor, and practically no competitive production.

"Greece is a peripheral country of world capitalism," Panandreu has said. "Its development is turned outward and dependent. Its productivity is lower than other European countries. We shall share the fate of southern Italy, which after 20 years in the Common Market remains a source of cheap labor for its rich northern partners."

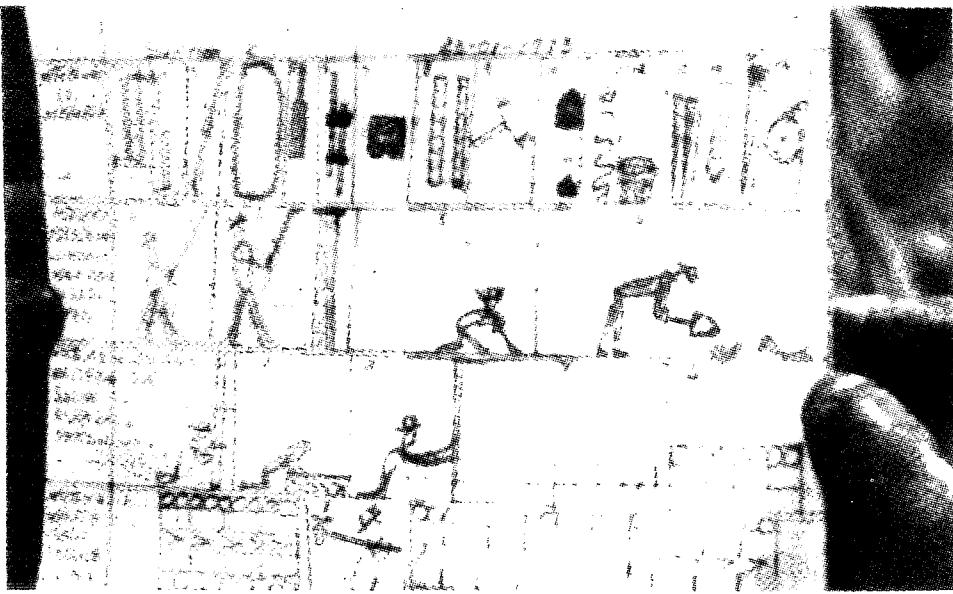
The Greek economy is a mess, its future look dismal and EEC membership, which will gradually eliminate Greek protective tariffs without bringing any comparable advantage, threatens to ruin some Greek manufacturing firms.

Thanks to a very late industrialization, Greece enjoyed an abnormally high growth rate during the past 20 years. But this year growth has dropped to zero, inflation is running close to 30 percent, the trade deficit and foreign debt are enormous. If official unemployment is low—around 2.5 percent—there is much hidden unemployment or underemployment among the third of the population still engaged in agriculture.

The recent rapid industrialization brought the shape of the Greek economy—in purely statistical terms—more into line with the rest of Europe, but this is

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SOUTH AFRICA



Crew leaders make their own handbooks, which set out instructions with a combination of pictures and words in Fanakalo—the pidgin language of the mines.

Mines display gold-plated paternalism

By James North

KLERKS DORP, SOUTH AFRICA

THE SURFACE MANIFESTATIONS of the Hartebeestfontein gold mine are deceptively unprepossessing. A few miles outside this Western Transvaal town, among fields of maize, is a cluster of shed-like buildings, in appearance rather like a small factory, surrounded by whitish mounds of debris. Atop a couple of towers, each less than 100 feet high, are green, rotating wheels. There is little to suggest that the wheels lower elevator cages more than one and a half miles underground, into a mine that employs some 20,000 people and uses 1,600 scraper units, 225 locomotives, 109 mechanical loaders, 1,800 hoppers and 1,489 deafening rock drills.

South Africa has, particularly in the last decade, sought—and failed—to diversify its exports. Gold sales still account for roughly one-third of export earnings—more when the world price is high. The 50 or so working mines, controlled by seven gigantic mining houses, employ roughly 575,000 workers, all but 40,000 of them blacks, to produce about half the world's gold. The Chamber of Mines, the coordinating body for the industry, conducts guided tours of various mines—partly to respond to simple public interest and partly to present its controversial labor policies in the best possible light.

At Hartebeestfontein, the tour begins with a trip underground. Elevator cages, clanking in the rush of air, relay the visitors down to one of the working levels in a few minutes. The guides, all white mine officials, direct the group through a series of dimly-lit tunnels to one of the workplaces, where the "reef," or gold-bearing rock, is barely visible as a thin, jagged line, faintly brownish.

The Chamber's publicists have produced an often-quoted description: "Imagine a solid mass of rock tilted... like a fat 1,200-page dictionary, lying at an angle. The gold-bearing reef would be thinner than a single page, and the amount of gold contained therein would hardly cover a couple of commas in the entire book.... The 'page' has been twisted and torn by nature's forces, and pieces of it may have been thrust between the leaves of the book."

The elusive character of the reef limits the usefulness of machinery: the miners have to trace it and then remove it with almost surgical precision. On the day shift, blacks, supervised by whites, drill holes deep into the reef. The workplace is often low, which forces the miners to either squat or lie on their backs, cradling the drill slightly upward, impassive in the ferocious noise.

Then, a white miner who has a "blasting ticket"—a certificate that only whites can acquire—fills the holes with explosives.

ive charges. The mine is cleared, and blasting starts from the deepest working level upward. Three hours later, after the dust has settled, the night shift shovels the broken-up reef into a network of scrapers and narrow-gauge railroad hoppers. It is then transported to one of the shafts to be hoisted to the extraction plant on the surface. The gold content is surprisingly low; one metric ton of ore yields only 11 to 12 grams.

As the supervisor guides the tourists through the tunnels, groups of black miners, dressed in hardhats with headlamps, white overalls and heavy boots, glance sideways impassively, their faces shining in the faint light from the naked bulbs. The supervisor arrives at a system of pressure doors, which are necessary to keep air circulating properly through the mine. "Vula," he grunts to the black man at the door, speaking in Fanakalo, the pidgin language of mining. "Open."

Back on the surface, the visitors continue to the training school, which is superintended by a fast-talking, middle-aged man called de Villiers. "First, I teach all the new men Fanakalo," he said. "They come from all over Southern

Africa—there are Mozambiquans, Rhodesians and all the ethnic groups of our own Republic people. They speak more than 10 different languages. We have to communicate with them, and they have to be able to talk to each other. With my methods, I can teach them in three or four days."

De Villiers then explained that another key aspect of his job is to devise and give tests to divide the black labor force into "the leaders, the mechanicals and the lower class." He took the group to a "leader" identification test of his own invention. A half-dozen black men, each with a different colored hardhat, stood quietly around the pieces of a huge wooden puzzle. "There's a way to do this," de Villiers said. "But I'm not interested in whether they finish it; I want to watch their leadership qualities, to see who takes charge. We need them to bring obedience into the others."

He signalled the men to begin, and they rushed around attempting to fit the unwieldy wooden pieces together. After about five minutes, he called time, and invited the tourists, all of whom were white, to comment. There followed a brief discussion about the relative degrees of initiative displayed by "red hat," "green hat" and the others. The black men waited, within earshot, without expression.

Next, de Villiers led the group into a Fanakalo class, where a black instructor was teaching six recruits. The new men sat on wooden benches, with numbers stenciled across the backs of their overalls. The day's vocabulary consisted of words like "man," "elevator cage" and "drill." De Villiers nodded enthusiastically. "We've even taught them a little song," he said, and gestured toward the instructor. The men rose, shyly, singing, as de Villiers translated:

"I come to Hartebeestfontein/to work/to make money/to take it home to my family."

Honoring "tradition."

Later, the tour continued on to one of the "hostels," the single-sex compounds where virtually all black miners live for 10 or 11 months a year. This, the newest of four at the mine, was an octagonal structure housing 4,000 men, 20 to a room. The place had the masculine, regimented feel of a military barracks.

The hostel superintendent, a flinty white man called Verster, first led the

tourists to one of the rooms. It was clean and bright, with 10 double bunkbeds lined up along the brick walls. A few curtains had been strategically placed to provide a little privacy. "All the men in each room are from the same ethnic group," Verster explained. "They like it that way—it's their tradition."

The group arrived at the immense dining hall just as a section of the day shift poured in. The men moved through the serving line at a dogtrot, metal plates in outstretched hands. Almost all of them were between 18 and 35 years old. Verster encouraged the visitors to inspect the food. "There is the *mielie* [maize] meal—that's their traditional food," he said, gesturing toward an enormous metal vat. "Further along are vegetables and fruits. They get meat twice a week. We make sure they have 2,850 calories a day."

The mining firms oppose the color bar, which forces them to hire whites at higher wages.

Verster next led the way to the liquor hall: "They get one and one-quarter liters of sorghum beer—their traditional drink—a day for free. They can of course buy more." Then, the medical clinic. "We insist they go, even with just a little scratch." Next, he indicated an open-air cinema. "They have films four times a week, several TV sets, including a wide-screen one. They have soccer, athletics, they do their tribal dancing—that's traditional to the blacks."

The mine supervisors hosted a luncheon for the visitors. No workers—black or white—were present. In the informal setting, they loosened up a bit. One of the younger engineers confided that the tourists had not visited the hottest part of the mine; he claimed the men there work at more than 100 degrees, with ice packs strapped to their bodies.

De Villiers, the training officer, faithfully outlined management's position on the blasting-ticket dispute. The all-white mine workers unions have fought successfully for the last 80 years to reserve certain jobs for themselves, thus preventing the mining houses from replacing whites with lower-paid black workers. This is the last significant "color bar" still on the statute books, and the mine owners are once again preparing to take the offensive against it.

One of the tourists, a British stockbroker, rather timidly asked the officials about an article in that day's newspaper. Some 10,000 blacks at another mine further south had struck and rioted against the introduction of a new pension plan. Police there had killed one miner when they invaded the compound to quell the uprising. The Hartebeestfontein officials said they had been stupefied by the news. One argued, "This new pension plan is an improvement. I don't see how they can possibly object to this benefit we're giving them."

The economics of the color bar.

That sort of bewildered paternalism is characteristic of much of the gold mining industry's public stance. Its public relations staff wages a patient, unremitting campaign to counter its critics, producing elaborate defenses for the use of migrant labor, the compound housing system, low black wages, the color bar and so on. The campaign has achieved such success that the industry's elder statesman, Harry Oppenheimer, who heads the gigantic Anglo-American Corporation, is heralded both here and overseas as a compassionate employer and a genuine force for change.

With respect to the color bar, there is little doubt of the industry's sincerity. An economist in 1968 estimated that if it replaced 70 percent of the whites with

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Black miners working in a cramped space drill blasting holes into the gold "reef." But only whites are allowed to set the explosives.



Greece

Continued from page 6

deceptive. Its large service sector, elsewhere a sign of advanced economy, merely reflects the huge tourist industry, where employment is often seasonal and is vulnerable to recession in the rich countries.

Greece's lopsided industrial development is concentrated in the Athens-Piraeus area, which holds 40 percent of the country's population and the worst air pollution in Europe.

Industrial investment has stagnated prematurely, before Greek manufacture has reached either a balance suitable to the domestic market or a level of specialization suitable for the world market. But the rapid development that has taken place has increased the need for imported goods and contributed to the huge trade deficit. Despite its relatively high standard of living, Greece shares many of the economic problems of third world countries.

Currently, real estate speculation is more profitable than productive investment and tends to drain available capital. While foreign capital has developed the larger industries, domestic industry is made up of thousands of little family businesses without capital to finance their own expansion and afraid to lose control by issuing stock. Thus investment is almost entirely in the hands of the banks, in turn controlled by the government. The government is thus in a position to guide investment. But the outgoing right-wing government never had the consistent political will nor the competent administration necessary to carry out a coherent development policy. This is where Pasok comes in.

More dynamic leadership is clearly needed to enable Greece to withstand the coming economic shock of lowered customs barriers as called for by the EEC.

The current trend is toward uncontrolled inflation and foreign debt, recession and unemployment. This explains why pro-American centrist leader George Mavros rallied to Papandreou.

In the Oct. 18 elections, Pasok, with 48 percent of the vote, won 174 of the Greek parliament's 300 seats. The right-wing New Democracy Party of outgoing Premier George Rallis got 36 percent and 113 seats. The only other party that made it into parliament was the pro-Soviet Greek Communist Party, which got 13 seats with a little less than 11 percent of the vote. The rival Eurocommunist Greek Communist Party "of the inter-

ior" lost its single seat. Pasok has succeeded as a catch-all left party that allows the whole range of left thinking, but no challenge to the leadership of Andreas Papandreou.

With his comfortable majority, Papandreou did not name Mavros foreign minister as widely predicted, but instead chose his close comrade Ioannis Hazalambopoulos, a former military man who took part in resistance to the colonels' regime. Actress Melina Mercouri, who has represented Piraeus in parliament since 1974 (and whose father was once mayor of Athens), was named culture minister. Papandreou kept the defense

ministry for himself. Assuring the loyalty of the armed forces will surely be a main task of the Socialist government. Only then will it be possible to contemplate measures seriously contrary to American wishes.

Meanwhile, the new leadership will probably concentrate on reforms to provide Greece with a modern, competent and honest administration—something it has lacked so far. This is scarcely socialism, but the enthusiasm generated by socialist ideals, and by the heady notion of national independence, should be helpful in raising the ethical level of public life.

Gold

Continued from page 7

blacks it could save 6 percent of its working costs. The mining houses could also portray the move as a blow against racism. But the white miners will not surrender without fighting. In 1922, they resisted a previous effort with a ferocious strike; the government, then wholly on industry's side, sent in troops and warplanes. Some 153 people were killed.

But the mining publicists have to strain hard to defend the migrant labor-compound system. They put forward several justifications: (1) The National Party regime severely restricts black residential rights in the 87 percent of South Africa zoned for whites, an area that includes all the gold mines. (2) The construction of family housing on the short-lived gold mining sites. (3) The migrants "want" to maintain ties to their rural homes, in order, as one propaganda sheet puts it, "to adapt themselves gradually to new conditions without the undesirable effects that might otherwise result from being suddenly uprooted from their tribal environment."

These arguments are all highly misleading. First, though the regime does

maintain influx-control restrictions, an industry that this year will pay taxes amounting to about 25 percent of total government revenue might be presumed to have leverage in Pretoria. In any case, the laws do permit 3 percent of black miners to bring their families; Anglo-American does not even reach that palty figure. Second, the older gold mines near Johannesburg were in operation at the turn of the century; some eventually closed down for a time, but have re-opened in response to the skyrocketing gold price. The new generation of mines started production just after World War II; Hartebeestfontein opened in 1953. Third, migrant labor in Southern Africa is a century old. Land confiscation and taxation policies have long driven blacks to the mines for work; they were learning to use complicated machinery the same time immigrants in America were adjusting to industrial life there.

Migratory labor and compound housing obviously survive because they allow the mine owners to control the workforce. Oscillating migrants are notoriously difficult to organize; there has been no significant black union activity in gold mining since the owners broke a big strike in 1946.

On the wage question, the Chamber's publicists had a bit of luck earlier this year—black miners received a 15 percent pay increase. The starting wage for un-

derground miners is now about \$130 a month. (Whites earn six and a half times as much as blacks.) This sum, small as it is, does represent an increase in real terms over the past decade—a hike that might be expected given that the gold price has gone up more than tenfold in that time.

In the previous 60 years (1911 to 1969), black wages had remained constant in real terms, at about \$25 a month in 1969. Over that long period, the mining houses—which set rates of pay jointly—had responded to higher competitive wage levels in other industries not by raising their own rates, but by luring migrants from even further afield, recruiting, for example, in Malawi, nearly 1,000 miles to the north.

The compound housing system first emerged in diamond mining, as a device to prevent miners from absconding with the precious stones. It is an established historical fact that Cecil Rhodes, the leading diamond magnate, used to amuse himself by sitting outside the compound fence and tossing coins through, chortling as the workers scrambled for them. Harry Oppenheimer, his successor, is not so crude. He flings his pennies in the form of philanthropic gifts and concerned speeches about the apartheid system, and no doubt sits back, delighted, as the press and others scurry to eulogize him.

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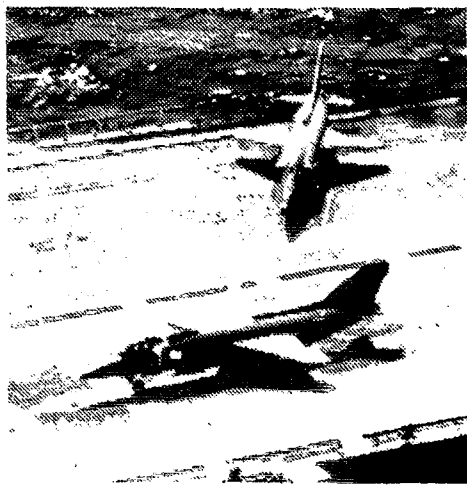
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CHEMICAL WARFARE

From a small leaf a huge debate grows



Soviet aircraft in Vietnam. The evidence of a Soviet link to the substances found in Southeast Asia remains circumstantial.

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

WHEN SECRETARY OF State Alexander Haig, speaking in West Germany Sept. 13, accused the Soviet Union and Vietnam of using poison gas in Kampuchea—and possibly also in Laos and Afghanistan—he was clearly trying to put the fear of God into America's allies in Western Europe, who in the last decade have drifted steadily toward an independent and sometimes neutral posture in the great power rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. The most extensive use of poison gas had been during World War I, when 78,000 Europeans were asphyxiated on battlefields not far from where Haig spoke.

The blatantly political purpose of Haig's announcement cast doubt upon its substance. The release of a chemical analysis of a single leaf sample from Kampuchea, which contained high concentrations of a lethal mycotoxin, by no means convinced the skeptics in the scientific community. "The evidence that thus far has been made publicly available is unconvincing," Harvard biochemist Matthew Meselson, a leading expert on chemical warfare, remarked.

But on Nov. 10, State Department official Richard Burt, testifying before the arms control subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, announced that new studies on four samples taken from Kampuchea and Laos had confirmed the earlier government claim that the Vietnamese, with Soviet help, were using mycotoxins against their adversaries. "We now have the smoking gun," Burt declared.

Burt's testimony, buttressed by the findings of University of Minnesota plant pathologist Chester Mirocha, didn't fully convince Meselson, who also testified at the hearings. They also met with a firm denial from the Soviet Union.

But there was now some agreement—even among those skeptical that the U.S. had identified the precise chemical agent being used or successfully linked it to the Soviet Union, through their use—that something was afoot. "Our main interest is to stop what appears to be serious chemical warfare," Meselson said in concluding his testimony.

Yellow rain.

Over the last five years, there have been numerous reports of poison gas attacks from Kampuchea and Afghanistan and from Laos, where the H'Mong tribespeople, originally armed by the Central Intelligence Agency, continue to fight the ruling Pathet Lao. The reports commonly cite a yellowish powder dropped from Vietnamese or Soviet crop-duster aircraft, which produces upon contact or inhalation dizziness, vomiting, diarrhea and then massive hemorrhaging that results in death.

While the reports have come from sources that would benefit from an international condemnation of the Soviet

Union or Vietnam, their sheer magnitude, their uniformity and their having come from seemingly untutored villagers and refugees as well as officials, sustains their credibility. "The diversity, scale and persistence of the allegations militates against the possibility of fabrications," British chemical warfare authority Julian Perry Robinson stated in a March 1980 analysis. (Robinson, like Meselson, is identified politically with the left rather than the right.)

But what has been puzzling about the reports is that the symptoms resulting from the alleged attacks do not correspond to those associated with any known chemical agent. Without identification of the chemical agent, it remains possible that the symptoms were not caused by chemical warfare or were only produced incidentally, like the symptoms resulting from exposure to Agent Orange in Vietnam.

In the last two years, American investigators, prompted by crusading journalist Sterling Seagrave, whose *Yellow Rain* was published this fall, have been focusing on a poisonous fungus, called trichothecene, that has been found sometimes on grain and that had produced massive poisoning attacks in the Soviet Union during World War II. The symp-

evidence indicates they have."

Meselson raised a number of objections to the government claim that trichothecenes were the chemical agent:

- He cited studies, one of which was co-authored by Mirocha, that hemorrhaging may not be a "necessary symptom" of trichothecene ingestion. Meselson speculated that to produce hemorrhaging it would probably have to be inhaled, which would mean it would have to come in a very fine aerosol mist rather than in the thick cloud described by Burt.

- Meselson argued that not enough was yet known about the natural non-crop development of trichothecene to rule out its having occurred naturally in the locales from which the samples were drawn.

- And Meselson emphasized the need for public scientific review of the studies made by Mirocha and the government and for the study of many more samples, including some from surrounding areas not allegedly hit by gas attacks.

Dr. Sharon Watson from the Army's Surgeon General's Office insisted that "the kinds of studies Dr. Meselson described is exactly what we did." Watson said that six samples from surrounding vegetation had been used as controls.

Mirocha said that he doubted whether

Lou Kallis of the Congressional Research Service, who was cited by Hebert as someone knowledgeable in the controversy and not swayed by partisan winds, remains skeptical of the evidence of poison gas attacks in Afghanistan, but he was impressed by the government's case for Laos and Kampuchea. "This is the first significant availability of evidence," Kallis said. "The fact that these mycotoxins have been located at such high concentrations gives a lot of credibility to the government case. When you look back at some of the evidence, you have to sit back and say that there are too many allegations, unless you assume everybody is lying."

Enter the United Nations.

The next step in the controversy will occur when a United Nations team submits a preliminary report this week on the poison gas charges. The UN team, made up of representatives from Egypt, the Philippines, Peru and Kenya, recently returned from a visit to Thailand. It was refused entry to Kampuchea and Laos.

If the UN team's findings confirm the American case, the repercussions will be significant, both in the U.S. and internationally:

- In the United States, the administra-



Khmer Rouge women carry land mines. Many refugees from the conflict in Kampuchea tell similar stories of "yellow rain."

Even skeptics admit the sheer number of refugee reports suggests "something terrible is happening."

toms in these attacks resembled those cited by the Laotians, Afghans and Kampucheans. The chemical analysis of the leaf, taken from the alleged site of a gas attack in Kampuchea, showed high concentrations of trichothecene. Mirocha's analysis of the four leaves showed even higher concentrations, suggesting that it was in fact the agent.

At the hearing, Burt argued that the discovery of the mycotoxin pointed to Soviet involvement. "There exist, in so far as we are aware, no facilities in Southeast Asia capable of producing the mold and extracting the mycotoxins in the quantities in which they are being used," he argued. "Such facilities do exist in the Soviet Union, including microbiological plants, under military control and with heavy military guard."

Reasons to be skeptical.

Meselson, who was a chemical warfare advisor to the Kennedy administration, rejected the administration's certainty. "I would recommend caution in concluding whether trichothecene toxins have been used in Southeast Asia," Meselson said, "although I agree that the preliminary

the trichothecenes could appear naturally on the kinds of surfaces where they had been found—on a rock and in water.

Circumstantial evidence.

Other parts of the government case have also met with some argument. There is still no direct evidence of chemical warfare in Afghanistan. The government's case rests on refugee reports and on Columbia University physician Dr. B.A. Zikria's examination in a refugee camp of an alleged victim of a gas attack.

The evidence linking the Soviet Union to the gas attacks also remains circumstantial. Robinson has charged that the satellite evidence of Soviet chemical warfare plants is flimsy and that mycotoxins could be produced by the Vietnamese.

But researchers on both the left and the right are increasingly concluding, in Robinson's words, that "something terrible is happening." "I've talked to a lot of refugees who tell stories not unlike what Seagrave tells," Murray Hebert of the left-of-center Center for International Policy (CIP) said. "I think there is a lot of circumstantial evidence that something is happening."

tion forces that have argued against any arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union will have their hand immeasurably strengthened. They will now argue, as the *Wall Street Journal* did in an editorial on yellow rain, that if the Soviet Union and its allies ignored the 1925 Geneva treaty prohibiting the use of chemical weapons, they can be expected to ignore the provisions of any arms control treaty.

- The chemical warfare lobby in the U.S., led by Rep. Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), will also have its hand strengthened. In 1969 the Nixon administration stopped the production of chemical weapons. But in 1980 and 1981, Congress narrowly approved appropriations to refurbish the Pine Bluff, Arkansas, chemical weapons facility (*In These Times*, Oct. 1, 1980). Early next year, the Reagan administration, citing yellow rain, is expected to argue for resuming production in Pine Bluff.

- At the UN and in Asia, Vietnam—whose bloated military is bogged down in Kampuchea and whose standard of living has been steadily sinking—will find itself increasingly isolated. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review's* Richard Nations, evidence of yellow rain "would undermine the tendency in ASEAN [The Association of Southeast Asian Nations], particularly among the Malaysians and Indonesians, to seek some accommodation with Vietnam over Cambodia in order to wean Hanoi away from Moscow."

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

IN LIMBO

OBJECT TO THE PORTRAYAL OF NARAL as a progressive organization (*ITT*, Oct. 28) and the crying over resignation of the woman who led that organization to back, vociferously and generously, the re-election of Bob Packwood, Republican Senator from Oregon. Packwood is pro-choice; he is also pro-environmental rape, pro-big oil, pro-nuke, pro-war, pro-Georgia Pacific and Weyerhaeuser. In other words, Packwood is for getting himself re-elected.

Packwood's opponent in the general election was progressive, pro-choice State Senator Ted Kulongoski. NARAL opposed Kulongoski because he is a Catholic. The claim that NARAL had to support Packwood because he was under attack from the right in the primary is a smokescreen. No one had the remotest chance of making a dent in the Republican vote with Packwood on the ballot. Packwood is just NARAL's kind of senator: he makes a big deal out of being pro-choice and doesn't connect this to any other issue, making him the perfect candidate for a mindless, single-issue group.

NARAL is doing no favor to women. Single-issue groups who refuse to look at their concerns in a social context do not belong on the left.

-Ann Tattersall
Eugene, Ore.

TIMERMAN AND THE PLO

I AM WRITING ON BEHALF OF SEVERAL Palestinian refugees living in the United States in response to your interview with Jacobo Timerman (*ITT*, Oct. 14) because they are cautious about activities that might affect their immigration status, such as putting their names in print in defense of the PLO. They would like to respond to two of Timerman's assertions.

Most serious is Timerman's allegation that Palestinian residents of the West Bank fear PLO reprisals for pursuing peace through contacts with progressive Israelis. In their many-years' experience with the PLO on the West Bank, none of the Palestinians with whom I have spoken know of attempts to intimidate residents there.

The 1976 mayoral elections provided an opportunity for anti-PLO sentiments to be expressed by secret ballot. In this, their only opportunity to express their opinions through officially sanctioned democratic processes, Palestinian Arabs of the West Bank overwhelmingly elected openly pro-PLO candidates.

There are alternative explanations for Timerman's inability to find Palestinians critical of the PLO with whom to engage in dialogue. One is that Palestinians may not find the PLO to be as anti-democratic as Timerman portrays it. The Palestinian National Council is selected by broad sectors of the populace through community organizations, unions, professional associations and the like (which, if in the occupied territories, are banned by law from any kind of political participation). The Executive Committee of the PLO, including Yasir Arafat, is elected by the Council.

Timerman's second serious accusation is that the PLO distinguishes itself as the only national liberation movement in the world that "claims it is go-

ing to destroy another people." When first founded the PLO proposed a secular state in Palestine. The PLO refuses to recognize Israel's right to exist as a religious state. While a secular state would have consequences for immigration of Jews from outside of Palestine, its advocacy is not equivalent to intentions of genocide.

The State of Israel was built by destroying a people—the Palestinian Arabs within the 1948 boundaries. More than one million of them were forcibly marched off of the land they inhabited, and relocated outside of Israel's borders. Techniques on the West Bank have been more subtle, but more than 60 percent of the Jordan Valley, and a third of the land in the occupied territories as a whole have been expropriated. 1,500 Arab leaders and professionals have been officially exiled and thousands more imprisoned. Since 1967, one half million Arabs have left the occupied territories because of land seizures, the destruction of villages, political oppression and lack of access to resources (water and electricity, in some cases).

Many Jews who do not hate themselves are anti-Zionist, including many in Israel. Contrary to Timerman's assertion, others can agree with them without being anti-Semitic.

-Susan Bailey
Brooklyn, N.Y.

STRENGTH AND UNDERSTANDING

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPERB EFFORT in the news world. I have readily gained much strength as a person because of it and have a greater understanding of this country, these times that we all live in. I have become prouder of our Founding Fathers' work, the freedoms of democracy, and am awakening to the urgent need for democratic socialism.

The article by P. Schervish, entitled "Is John Paul II a socialist?" (*ITT*, Sept. 30) was great. I read it three times to get its full implications. Though I believe the Pope does not think in political terms, I am still amazed at the power of thought in his encyclical, *Laborem Exercens*. I always wondered if the Catholic church would ever have the courage to speak in such a way.

In truth, deep inside I've pondered how I can work until I retire at 65 or whatever with so little control over the general procedures in production that makes the money for my employer. It is hard for me to see issues decided only in consideration of accumulation of profit—though I feel there is nothing wrong with gaining capital for oneself. But the way the industries and the multinationals are doing it is not right; at the expense of the dignity of the population, the wasting of the ecosystem and the defacing of the principles that the people joined together for.

I read just about everything you put on your pages and enjoy soaking up the information. And I can see no reason why two close friends should not receive your newspaper and its insights. I decided on gift subscriptions for the holiday season, and that it would be tidy to let you know how much I really like *In These Times*. All the best for 1982.

-J.L. Sokol
Madison, Wisc.

NDP

WHENEVER PARTY BUREAUCRATS wince in reaction to an article, the

odds are a palpable hit has been scored by a journalist. So it goes with the New Democratic Party's former federal secretary Robin Sears' cheap shots (*ITT*, Sept. 23) against Doug Smith's coverage of the federal party convention.

Without wishing to flog dead and long-buried horses, some comment is in order lest Smith's reputation be sullied.

The NDP's consistent failure in Ontario is nothing to laugh about. Despite loud pronouncements that organized labor was putting out its biggest effort ever in the 1980 federal elections, the party lost three major northern working-class ridings and ended up with fewer seats than it previously held. In the 1981 Ontario provincial election the NDP lost 12 members.

The constitutional issue deeply split the party on regional lines and the two-thirds majority vote in favor of Ed Broadbent's position was more a reflection of the larger size of the Ontario delegation, which strongly supported Broadbent, than a party-wide consensus.

Premier Allan Blakeney of Saskatchewan may well have worked hard to arrive at a compromise but his delegation overwhelmingly rejected his attempt.

Doug Smith has, through his work as a freelancer and for Canadian University Press, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and Canadian Dimension, established himself as a top quality journalist. As a reporter who covered the previous 1979 federal NDP convention for *ITT* and sat in on the last one, I find Sears' slurs offensive. I hope he will show more restraint in his new position with the Socialist international.

-Bill Tieleman
Vancouver, B.C.

TOO SIMPLE

YES, I CAN SEE THE PARALLELS BETWEEN the "TV settler-vs.-Indian myths" that Miriam Wolf says motivates "light skinned imported 'pioneers' to the West Bank" (*ITT*, Nov. 11). And while as a progressive and a Jew I am angry and disappointed with the Israeli government and some of its citizens who behave more unjustly, short-sightedly and brutally every day, I still feel it is crucial not to oversimplify the anguished histories of both Jews and Palestinians in their struggles to find a safe place for themselves in the world. Setting up a simple, appealing but ahistorical evil-Western-colonizer-vs.-righteous-native argument encourages uncomplicated and stereotyped thinking rather than bringing new information or insight to a horrible conflict.

Racism and oppression exist in the "holy land." I've seen it. That some Jews have become oppressors is bad news. All oppressors are bad news. But it's a catch-22 claim to insist—as Wolf does—that Jews should know better. Whether the suggestion is that Jews should know better because we are "the chosen people" or because of the "lesson" of the Holocaust, the logic is faulty and oppressive. What lesson? The only lesson I can imagine drawing from any act of genocide is that racism is sick beyond belief and we must root confused, racist thinking out of our analyses of the Israeli-Palestinian issue and all human conflicts.

There is a need for information and analysis of permanent damage that Israeli settlement policies are wracking on Israeli society, Palestinian society and any future chances for peace in the region. There is also a strong need for journals such as *In These Times* to challenge anti-Semitism, anti-Arab racism and all forms of racism.

-Debbie Zucker
Chicago

OLD REGIME

MARGARET GEORGE, IN HER REVIEW of the book by Arno J. Mayer on European history, *The Persistence of the Old Regime* (*ITT*, Oct. 28), concluded on an unfortunate note. She accuses Mayer of departing, unacceptably from the dialectical view of Marx and En-

gels, who are said to have proclaimed the total victory of bourgeois modernism in European civilization. Yet more than one view can be found, in Marx's works, on the subject of feudalism in relation to capitalism. His dialectic was an abstract (ideal) scheme that he modified when he discussed concrete political situations. According to him, only a few of the Western nations—the U.S. above all—were free of feudal structures and remnants of the feudal past. In England, and notably also in Germany, the existing governments were described by him as mixed, semi-bourgeois and semi-feudal. The State power was a coalition power—a unification of the bourgeoisie with the landholding aristocracy.

In his later writings on England and the "Irish question," Marx said that the political and cultural institutions of landlordism exerted a reactionary influence on the nation as a whole, and on the mentality of the English working class England was likely to be one of the last of the European industrialized nations to undergo a successful working-class revolution. This view, he acknowledged, was a departure from his earlier expectation that the English workers would become the political vanguard of the international working-class movement.

In *Capital*, where the abstract, economic dialectic is uppermost, he placed major emphasis on the process of industrialization, as the primary means by which the working-class revolution would be achieved in England, the most highly industrialized of the European nations. He was bypassing the socio-political and cultural aspects of the national situation in that country, and indeed in every capitalist country.

-Catherine R. Harris
Washington, D.C.

AND VICE VERSA

YOUR HEADLINE ON RICHARD Green's article (*ITT*, Oct. 14) "Labor's dependency on the Democrats began in the '30s" might well have added: and vice versa. Green touches on the third-party agitation of the mid-'30s, but I don't think he gives an adequate assessment of the effect this had on the direction of the New Deal.

For example, his article totally ignores the departure of the Progressives (followers of the elder LaFollette) and the formation of the Progressive Party. The younger LaFollettes bitterly fought this, but ran on the ticket. Later, when Robert Jr. tried to crawl back into the Republican Party he was defeated in the primary and succeeded in the Senate by a guy named Joe McCarthy.

Green does not even mention the event that was the turning point of the New Deal. This was the 1935 Chicago conference to explore the possibility of a new party, chaired by Paul Douglas and attended by members of Congress and many labor activists.

-Fredrick S. Gram
St. Paul, Minn.

CORRECTION

In "Cleveland's Voters Want a Rest" (*In These Times*, Nov. 11), a page was dropped from the original manuscript. As a result, the article stated falsely that Cleveland City Council member Jay Westbrook "led the council opposition to Voinovich's desegregation administrator," when in fact the article went on to explain Westbrook's role in opposing Voinovich's tax hike proposals, his successes as a city councilman and his opponent's attacks. We regret any misimpression that this error created.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



Bruce Campbell

PERSPECTIVES

Is the left guilty of criminal neglect?

By Bertram Gross

I'M NOT QUITE SURE WHAT THE word "left" refers to anymore. But on certain issues—indeed, the gut issues of crime, jobs and inflation—I'm afraid it means left behind. The Reaganites, in contrast, having won an election on jobs and inflation, are rapidly taking the initiative on crime. The details of Reagan's plans are staggering. Legislation is moving ahead to provide for prevention and to give a pat on the back to "break in and entry" operations by police. Bond issues for expensive new prisons are being put to voters all over the country. The president personally has called for action to increase use of the death penalty. The Defense Department's huge resources of personnel, camps and spy satellites are being drafted into the service of local police and an "unleashed" FBI and CIA.

In one sense, all this is gorgeous hokum. It helps prepare the stage for the time when—as recession bites more deeply—Reagan can switch from the hat of a naval commander and show that in addition to being a fiercer World Policeman

Reagan and Co. have taken the lead on crime.

than L.B.J., he is also a fearless Police Chief commanding a new war against crime at home. The more intelligent police chiefs, of course, know that all this is nonsense; none of these measures will prevent or control crime. Indeed, in many cases, as with the expansion of prisons, which, in Ramsey Clark's words, are "crime factories," these policies will promote crime.

Yet in another sense, this domestic "war" is real. The so-called "anti-crime warriors" are girding the state and the larger corporations with the weapons, laws and justification needed to bust unions, suppress dissent and cow dissenters. They are providing well-planned measures to accelerate the long-term drift toward mind management, oppression and low-cost terror.

While Reagan has just begun to fight on this front, the left has not yet begun to begin. Indeed, liberals and socialists seem to have found ingenious ways to dodge the issue.

They have done this by keeping mum on the subject and allowing neo-reactionaries and ultra right frenetics to strengthen their near-monopoly on the subject, by bravely insisting that capitalism must be abolished before anything meaningful can be done about crime and drug addiction, by attacking corporate crime

without responding to working people's fears of assault on the street, in school or at home. In response to Reagan's offensive on crime the left reacts defensively, with no positive alternatives.

But leftists find their heads and hearts moving in opposite directions. Their heads tell them to beware the get-tough posturing of the administration, Chief Justice Berger, New York City's Mayor Koch and California Governor Brown (who now is backing one of the largest prison construction programs in history). In their hearts, however, they begin to feel that this or that part of the crack-down is O.K.

Meanwhile, some left candidates for local office—forced to speak up by the demands of a campaign—echo the "get tough" approach of the right-wing jivers by frantic efforts to protect themselves from the charge of being "soft on crime." Elizabeth Holtzman in her recent campaign for district attorney in Brooklyn, N.Y., espoused a punitive philosophy that she must have known to be a facade for oppression and useless as crime prevention or control.

If there is any hope that the left forces in the Democratic Party might be strengthened by the 1984 presidential primaries and the nominating convention, the present vacuum in this area must be filled. The way to do this is to put the subject squarely and openly on the agenda, rather than continuing to dodge it.

To the best of my information, many left organizations—including the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the New Democratic Coalition and the National Black United Front—are thinking of doing this. Some may already have started. "But we can't put the subject on our agenda," I am told by Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, "until we have a better idea of something we could do in this field without indirectly contributing to demands for more repressive action." What would be the substance of left anti-crime action?

The answer cannot be provided by a manifesto. It can emerge only from study and debate. Fortunately, there are many beginnings of such action across the country. These include community mobilization against victimization and counter-attacks against the establishment's quick fixes and collusion with criminals. Some of these initiatives are brilliant, some half-hearted, some ephemeral and many growing in momentum and vigor.

Self-help protection.

In the South Bronx efforts are being made by community organizations to provide escort services for elderly people afraid to go shopping. In West Philadelphia the Citizens' Local Alliance for a Safer Philadelphia (CLASP) has organized "neighborhood walks" that have markedly reduced the fear of being mug-

ged. In Detroit, black-led community organizations have gingerly cooperated with the police on the principle that "The cops help those who help themselves." In Seattle the Community Crime Prevention Program has succeeded in reducing burglary through cooperative "block watches" and advice to individuals on household protection. In Santa Monica, the Renters' Rights Coalition won the April 1981 election by adding a community-based crime prevention program to their past commitment to rent control. The Ocean Park Community Organization, embracing one densely-populated square mile in the city, won its spurs by organizing a neighborhood movement against crime, particularly crimes of violence. It is now strengthening the movement by mobilizing people against other forms of victimization—particularly zoning laws that tend to enrich land speculators.

Behind all these efforts lie three facts that are slowly being understood:

1) While low and middle-income groups are all victimized by crime, poor people—particularly those in black and Hispanic ghettos—are victimized more than anybody else. In addition to being the most helpless targets of consumer fraud, environmental pollution, urban shrinkage, redlining and gentrification, it is they, more than any others, who are burglarized, mugged, assaulted, raped and killed.

2) Low-income criminals are a small, but extremely active minority of the poverty population. For them, robbery and drug hustling are forms of employment that compensate for bad jobs and depression-levels of unemployment, offering the attraction of flexible hours, challenge on the job, minimal risks (if they are careful), no taxes, prestige among peer groups and the availability of welfare payments, food stamps and free crime training in prisons.

3) The best environment for rehabilitation of such addicts or criminals is sustained political activity against unemployment, racism or war. During the 1963 March on Washington, low-income crime almost disappeared in Harlem and the District of Columbia. At the height of the civil rights movement in the South "black on black" assaults declined dramatically.

The moral of all this is that any left approach to crime involves not merely helping people protect themselves from assaults and helping the victims of rape and robbery. It involves mobilizing against all forms of victimization—sometimes starting with crime and moving to other things, sometimes starting with exorbitant rents, condominium or hospital closings and then moving to crime. All this might be summed up in the phrase: "Empowerment of the weak."

Empowerment, of course, is a long

Continued on page 13

What are we doing in El Salvador?

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Press coverage of the Muslim world is highly selective (above, OPEC press conference in Switzerland, 1979).

The Western press is in *purdah*



There are 800 million Muslims in 40 countries (above, West African Muslims).

Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World
By Edward W. Said
Pantheon, 186 pp., \$3.95

By Gary Michael Tartakov

The title is a pun. What we are told of the Islamic world, according to Said, is a reportage that hides—a covering that covers-up. If there is any surprise in the message, it is not that the image we are receiving of the Middle East is seriously, even desperately inaccurate, it is to learn how deeply we have internalized these distortions.

Covering Islam is the latest of three important books Said has published on the Western penetration of the Middle East. In terms of length, depth of analysis and weight of argument it is the most modest. It is also the most pertinent and readable.

Said is a Palestinian Arab who writes with a strong sense of engagement in a subject that concerns him personally and deeply. He is a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization's Palestinian National Council, a Christian and a chaired professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University.

His *Orientalism* (1978) is a detailed and devastating critique of the history of Western writing and scholarship on the "Orient"

since the late 18th century. Its subject is the pattern by which Western European ethnocentric biases and cultural chauvinism blended with the growing mercantile trade, first to make the European approach to the East possible and later to facilitate and justify imperialist conquest, occupation and economic devastation. Among other things, it explains how the racist mythology of Aryan superiority and Semitic inferiority was nurtured for over a century in the prestigious intellectual seats of the European academic world of Oriental studies. *The Question of Palestine* (1979) is the first widely read analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by a Palestinian. (Most everything we know of that dispute here is written from an anti-Palestinian point of view, and most of what we know of the Palestinian point of view has, up to now, come almost exclusively through non-Palestinians.)

Covering Islam brings the problem of our understanding of the Middle East home. Its focus is current American understanding of Islam in recent scholarship and the media, and in particular the impact of that understanding on our interaction with the peoples of the Middle East.

Ignorance.

Said has three major points, none of them pleasant. The first and most fundamental of these

frustrates because it is so banal—we don't know Islam at all. In spite of our familiarity with the term and 10 or 15 associated terms like Koran, Allah, *purdah*, *jihad*, Mohammed, Arab and sheik, we have only the most severely foreshortened idea of what these things, and the social lives they describe, are.

"Islam" brings up visions of desert Bedouins or teeming Cairo mosques. But Islam is the religion of some 800,000,000 people, in some 40 countries, spread from Mauritania and Morocco to China and the Philippines, with some of its biggest populations in the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia and Nigeria. How many in the U.S., even after the media blitz of the past decade, realize that many Muslims take the term "Mohammedan" as an insulting alternative to "Muslim"? That Iranians are not Arabs? That the shah overthrown in the Iranian revolution was enthroned by the American government? Not many, I'd guess. But it would be far more than the number who could tell how much of what is going on in the current social revolution of the Islamic world is attributable to the Islamic faith and how much is due class, regional, sexual, or economic and political interests quite outside the impact of Islam.

Said does not intend to write about all of Islam, but only about the Western media and expert views of the Middle East—that is, of Arabs and Iranians, the focus of current U.S. interest. His most striking case comes from his analysis of print and TV journalism. Just as troubling, however, is the parallel situation he finds in the academic and specialist literature. If what he reveals is banal, it is no less terrible for that. The sadly empty truth is that it is very difficult to understand any alien culture, and most of us don't. Much worse, as Socrates said: we don't know that we don't.

The second point is more humiliating. It is that what we do know is not just a superficial caricature, but a thoroughly racist one. Yet the consensus is so well established that we are no

more aware of it than the atmospheric pressure of 14 pounds on every square inch of our bodies. That Muslims are seen as sly, tyrannical, cruel, devious and deviant, anti-Christian and anti-Semitic, dirty, ugly, inferior and uncivilized is taken for granted. Camel drivers who keep their multiple wives behind curtains and veils and prefer young boys in any case, Jew baiters, wealthy sheiks in funny clothes buying up British department stores and Los Angeles real estate, sullen



Sheiks with L.A. condos, camel drivers and fanatic, sly terrorists stock our repertoire of images about the Muslims.

terrorists or fanatic ones. Who else could have served as the unseen-yet-believable source of the illicit money and fraud invented by the FBI to sting our congressmen in the ABSCAM case?

Frustration.

The book's third major theme will continue to be highly frustrating. In spite of recognizing that your knowledge of Islam, the Arabs, or any particular nation of Muslims, is limited and distorted, you have nothing with which to replace it. Intellectually you may reject such stereotypes as unreal, but in reality you are not likely to have any alternative. Imagine a clean, smiling Arab in a cotton dress, putting her arm around the neck of an older Jewish friend. Call up the faces of some Muslim friends. Think of anything specific in the Koran, besides Allah being the only God, and Mohammed His prophet. Do you know what goes on in a mosque?

Said has been faulted on his muckraking. But muckraking is not his point. He could have found better examples of Big Media's failure or the State Department's than "The Princess" episode. Some of his interpretations are bad or weak. But as a whole the events cited and the attitudes of the experts and the reporting are accurate enough for the points he is making. The point of his book, in any case, is not to enumerate injustices or to condemn the guilty. It is far more positive and valuable than that.

His critique of our misunderstanding and misreporting is offered as a foundation for an explanation of the criteria for achieving a better understanding. We can learn to understand other cultures, he says, and the way we can do it is by interpreting the texts we have from and about them more sensitively and more accurately. All of a sudden we are reminded that we are reading a book by a professor of literature.

He presents two guides that he calls necessary for knowing an alien culture. The first is that to understand another culture you must feel "answerable to and in uncoercive contact with [that] other culture and people." The second is that cultural interpretation must include an awareness of the situation of the creation of the text and the situation of our interpretation. That is, we cannot see the Other clearly if our responsibility is only to ourselves or if we forget either the motivations that called forth the particular text or the motivations of our own interest in them.

It is impossible, however, for anyone left of liberal to stop where Said does. The position from which the book is posed, and to which it is addressed, is too confined to the liberal and the academic. Fairness and accuracy are taken as capable of bringing us to a better, moral world. But to put your faith in accuracy, as if such a thing as a disinterested, ["fair"] accuracy were possible, is to assume that our current difficulties are mainly the result of inaccurate or inadequate information and understandings.

But accuracy and fairness are determined by concrete interests. It will take more than a fairer spirit to achieve a reading good enough to direct us toward altering the neo-colonialist state of our current affairs in the Middle East. Before we can recognize ourselves in those crowds of unruly Iranian demonstrators, rather than the English-speaking

Continued on page 15

NOTEBOOK



"The faces in back are the unemployed," wrote the artist, a laid-off auto worker.

UAW-LUPA 1982 Calendar
UAW Public Relations and Publications Dept., 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, MI 48214, \$4.50 (\$4 each if ordering 10 or more). Available only by mail.

When the UAW last year put out a calendar featuring art works by union members, interest was so high that members began projects especially for this year's contest, and the UAW held up judging until the last possible moment. This second calendar easily demonstrates the value of such an enterprise. It testifies to the way self-expression and the thirst for recognition for talent and skill are regularly denied at the workplace. The art is of higher quality than in the first calendar, although the range is wide enough so that everyone will have favorites and klunkers. Realism is the preferred style, with some symbolism and some

folk art; in most, the technical quality is good. Especially moving are comments of artists on the meaning of their work—both their art and their factory work. "I'm glad we have this calendar," writes one man who painted a portrait of his grandmother. "It shows we aren't like big business paints us. There's a hell of a lot of talent going to waste in the plants. We have to get laid off or something before we can use it." Another painter sketched every day on his break for more than two months to capture the look of his workplace, where photographs are not allowed. Key events in American labor history are noted on the calendar dates. Proceeds further workers' self-expression through union newsletters and newspapers. PA

War Resisters League Organizer's Manual

Edited by Ed Hedemann
WRL, 339 Lafayette St., NY, NY 10012, 222 pp., \$6 plus \$1 postage

Under this clear, accessible manual's well-designed cover lurk such skills as writing press releases and leaflets, dealing with the courts and corporations and plotting demonstrations and silk-screening. The manual, produced by the 53-year-old League, explains the nitty-gritty skills and approaches needed to forge a vital movement for social change. The anarcho-consensus approach seems to attach as much importance to guerrilla theater and war tax resistance as to electoral politics and coalition-building, however. And the chapters on meetings and process champion an approach to "non-hierarchical" decision-making that in practice can make the most hidebound hierarchy look appealing by comparison. One more quibble—the chapter on canvassing, while artfully instructing us in the art of pitching our issue on lonely doorsteps, editorializes not at all on the need for us to put on our least scruffy appearance. Even leaving the "Clean for Gene" ethic behind us, it seems inappropriate for the accompanying photograph to show a long-haired, bearded canvasser attired in dusty World War II vintage battle fatigues perched by the doorbell. Enjoy or ignore the "New Age" tone—whatever suits you—but add

the WRL Organizers Manual to your shelf of "must" organizing works. PL

Writings on Wright: Selected Comment on Frank Lloyd Wright

Edited by H. Allen Brooks
MIT Press, 229 pp., \$17.50
This offbeat collection of writings on the great architect may be one of the pleasantest and quickest ways to acquaint oneself with the meaning and intent of his work. It is a potpourri of first-hand and down-to-earth opinion on the man—highly edited and abridged in some cases—ranging from the occupants of his houses to daily newspaper writers to *New*

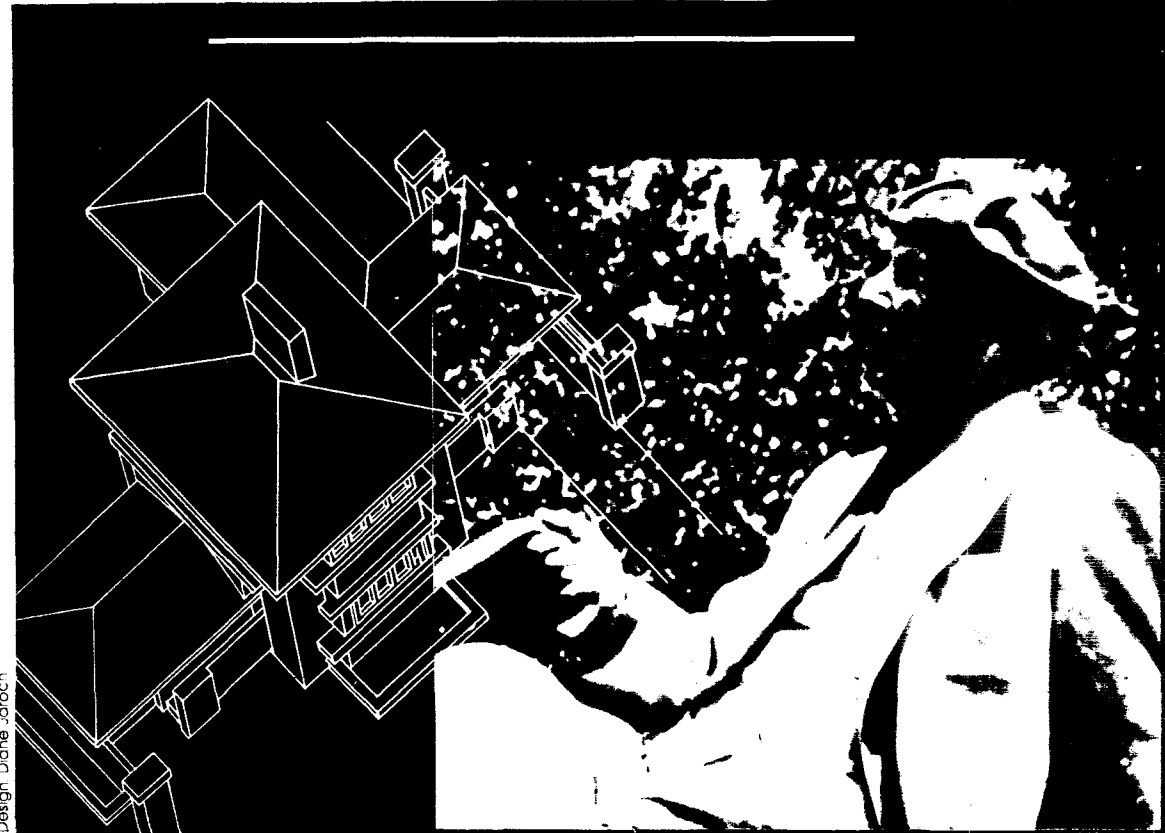
Yorker "Talk of the Town" columns to academic architectural critics of the time to Taliesin visitors and apprentices. "I'm a one-man experiment in democracy, an experiment that worked," he told the *New Yorker*. He and Louis Sullivan "made [architecture] organic. We said architecture was space to be liv-

Protest and Survive

Edited by E.P. Thompson and Dan Smith, with an introduction by Daniel Ellsberg
Monthly Review, 62 W. 14th St., NY, NY 10011
216 pp., \$4.95
The leaders of anti-nuclear movements abroad, as well as some American critics of the Pentagon, have produced a timely series of arguments against nuclear weaponry, especially important because information about government

concentrated in occupations dominated by their own sex. The Field Research Corporation of California has shown that 10 percent of working women say sexual harassment forced them to quit their jobs.

Aimed at social service workers and women's organizations, this handbook also provides enough information to help individuals. It first defines sexual harassment and reveals the role of women, particularly minority women, in the U.S. labor force. The nine chapters include one on how to conduct surveys, sponsor discussions, use local media and other aspects of outreach work. Other chapters offer guidelines on set-



"I'm a one-man experiment in democracy," boasted Frank Lloyd Wright.

nuclear policy is not freely or widely released by those who control the weapons. Threats of nuclear attack have become a secret White House policy, according to Daniel Ellsberg, whose introductory essay documents peacetime abuse of nuclear strength by American presidents. Other essays discuss the bureaucratization of homicide, the American arms boom and disarmament. JS



Antinuclear protesters in Italy.

Fighting Sexual Harassment

By Alliance against Sexual Coercion, P.O. Box 1, Cambridge, MA 02139

\$3.95, 92 pp.

This timely, simple advocacy handbook is designed to train people to recognize sexual harassment and provides guidelines for action. Two recent studies emphasize its importance. The National Research Council reports that women are paid less than 60 percent of what men are paid for comparable work, and that women are

ting up a staff training program to handle cases of sexual harassment and six appendices provide survey data and bibliographic information. SW

The Kleber Flight: a novel

By Hans Koning
Atheneum Press, 214 pp., \$12.95

This is political fiction drawn from contemporary resistance to corporate evil. In a story evocative of the Karen Silkwood case, Koning skillfully portrays the loneliness of the individual and the first flush of identity and a felt link with history as he becomes politically aware. Written in the cool, dry tones of modern espionage novels, romantic yet unsentimental, *The Kleber Flight* shows the beauty—and ultimate absurdity—of the individualist, anarchic act. RM

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, Pat Laceyfield, Robin Madrid, Joel Schechter, Susan Williams.

Crime

Continued from page 11

process. It requires nothing less than initiating new forms of democratic, community-based political planning. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) expressed this idea when he called not only for new legislation to guarantee job opportunities for all those able and willing to work but also for a genuine full employment movement. "The movement may be even more important than the legislation," he points out, "for without it even good legislation might remain a useless scrap of paper." Above all, any popular movement, whether narrow or as broad as a

full employment movement must be—is itself crime prevention. It provides channels through which energy, anger and frustration can be channeled away from self-destruction and victimization of others into constructive confrontation with the forces of reaction.

The stronger the movement, many have suggested, the more concessions will be won—and these by themselves could help former convicts and present drug addicts to rehabilitate themselves. But there is no need to tell people being mugged, "Just wait until a community-based national planning bill is passed."

The left has already attacked the quick fixes of the establishment's unholy trinity: "Police 'em, Jail 'em, Kill 'em." But until now these attacks have suffered at the hands of the old

political principle: "You can't beat something with nothing." Negativism puts leftists in a defensive position. But once positive anticrime action is offered by the left, defense and counter-attack can be greatly expanded. Some ideas:

•More in-depth exposes—coupled with demonstrations and peaceful sit-ins—of law-breaking by corporate executives and their links with courthouse corruption, mobsters, the CIA and arson-for-profit rings. (In *Corporate Crime* [Free Press, 1981] Marshall Clinard and Peter Yeager have pointed out that far more persons are killed every year through corporate criminal activity than by individual criminal homicides.)

•A counter-offensive against the Reaganite collusion with well-heeled criminals. The White

House has already pressured the Justice Department to curtail previous activities against corporate crime and to drop pending charges against high executives (*Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 28). Reagan has personally launched the most audacious decriminalization program in American history. His people are punching holes in—or refusing to enforce—existing laws against "murder in the workplace," consumer fraud, environmental pollution, product safety, tax evasion, bribery, monopoly, pricefixing and employment discrimination. Above all, he sends out the message—loud and increasingly clear—that the poor and the middle-income people shall be robbed to nourish the truly rich.

It will take a while to pull this act together.

At the outset it is imperative that people learn from each other—particularly that people from various blocks, neighborhoods or cities exchange views and discuss objections and alternatives. In the New York area a "Community Action Against Crime" conference is now being planned jointly by *Social Policy* and the democratic planning project of Hunter College's urban affairs department. Regional conferences in other areas might also be helpful. Through this kind of "bottom-sideways" planning and action it might be possible to develop a left orientation toward crime before the 1984 election campaigns. ■

Bertram Gross is Distinguished Professor in Hunter College's urban affairs department and author of *Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America*.

By Joel Schechter

Philip Glass' new opera *Satyagraha* presents a history of Gandhi's years in South Africa, 1893-1914. It also closes a chapter in the history of avant-garde music.

The avant-garde has passed from a time when European audiences rioted over Stravinsky's *Rites of Spring* and Brecht and Weill's *Little Mahogany*, to the present when all 10,000 tickets to *Satyagraha* were sold before it opened at Brooklyn's Academy of Music. In the U.S. the avant-garde music of Glass, Laurie Anderson and Robert Ashley has become fashionable. Instead of shocking audiences with its untraditional score and libretto, Glass' opera won applause from spectators, praise from mass media critics and money from corporate patrons.

Satyagraha portrays scenes from Gandhi's struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa. By the time he left South Africa in 1914, he had developed and practiced the concepts of non-violent resistance that were to help Indians free themselves from British colonialism. Gandhi used the word *satyagraha*, from the Sanskrit for "truth" (*satya*) and "firmness" (*agraha*), to describe his non-violence. In the opera he leads marches against injustice, starts a communal farm for his co-workers and edits a newspaper, *Indian Opinion*. In the final scene the marchers are arrested. Although the scene is set in India, the arresting officers wear American storm trooper uniforms, and an actor representing Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated onstage at the same time, so that continuity between Gandhi and King is visually established.

Earlier in the opera, two other famous men, Tolstoy and the Indian poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore, hover above the Indian masses on a raised platform in the background. While both of these writers influenced Gandhi as strongly as he influenced King, the opera's reverential, iconic display of these figures suggests that history is made by great men, not masses. Similarly, in melodramatic and oversimplified staging of crowd scenes by director Hans Nieuwenhuis, Gandhi's co-workers resemble inert, interchangeable masses who follow their great



Gandhi's co-workers follow him (center, Douglas Perry) around in a trance in avant-garde musician Philip Glass' *SATYAGRAHA*.

OPERA

Sacred mood music

leader around in a trance.

Glass' previous scores have been described as "trance music," and the description is appropriate for the music to which Indians in *Satyagraha* loyally accompany their leader. Simple scale progressions are repeated and layered with other scales repeated simultaneously. Both vocally and instrumentally, the music forms hypnotic patterns whose insistent, repetitive rhythms have a potential to be popular—the simplicity and accessibility of Glass' music has brought him a following among rock and jazz audiences.

In the closing scene of *Satyagraha* Gandhi sings a scale from E to E some 30 times while he gazes at co-workers asleep all around him. His ability to repeat

himself, like his commitment to non-violence, seems endless. Glass' simple, minimalist music is played largely by violins, cellos and flutes. His orchestration here is more ethereal, less hard-edged and punk, than in an earlier opera, *Einstein on the Beach*.

In that earlier work, which benefited immensely from Robert Wilson's scene design and direction, Glass based vocal texts on numbers and solfège. (Singers would repeat "do, re, me" or "one, two, three" over and over.) Since the *Einstein* opera was about technology and mechanization in the atomic age, its mathematically structured choruses of numbers and scales were humorously suitable. *Einstein* was far less conventional than Glass' new opera. It had no singers onstage, only in the pit, and its music was fully amplified. *Satyagraha* has *bel canto* singing onstage, in a traditional operatic manner.

Words as music.

Glass' decision to base vocal texts for the new opera on a Hindu poem, the Bhagavad-Gita, is highly questionable. Indeed the sacred Hindu text served as one

source of moral authority for Gandhi when he developed his non-violent philosophy, but Glass treats it as Gandhi's only text. The words sung by Gandhi are not taken from his own writing, but from the Bhagavad-Gita.

Even the authority of the Bhagavad-Gita is minimized in Glass' opera, because it is sung entirely in Sanskrit. In collaboration with another American, Constance de Jong, Glass wrote the vocal texts in a language his American audience would not know. In theory this permits the words to function as music, as pure sounds. The Sanskrit also mystifies history and political struggle. Gandhi's thoughts on racial discrimination and his published tactics of resistance have to be found elsewhere.

One can see Gandhi's non-violent tactics enacted in melodramatic form onstage. But events are removed from their historical context, treated almost as dream sequences. All the action occurs behind a scrim—a huge, semi-transparent curtain into which spectators gaze as if looking into smoke or mist or a veil of worldly illusion. Characters like Gan-

dhi, Tolstoy and the Hindu gods resemble icons behind the scrim. They move primarily to form tableaux, as if living in some religious painting.

Glass is quoted in the program book saying that his music has a way of "drawing people into a different world without time." His music does convey a sense of infinite repetition with miniscule variation, which may be the closest we will ever come to eternity. The opera's music embodies the repetition described in Gandhi's closing aria (offered here in English, but not in English when sung): "The Lord said, I have passed through many a birth and many have you....I come into being age after age and take a visible shape and move a man with men for the protection of good." Here every age and struggle are regarded as the re-enactment of a divine pattern. There is no history, no politics, only ritual in this vision.

The opera is further confirmation of Roland Barthes' comment, "The avant-garde is threatened by only one force: political consciousness." Glass has avoided the threat by allying himself with the religious beliefs latent in Gandhi's political actions. The two aspects of Gandhi's consciousness may be inseparable, but Glass and his collaborators have managed to vitiate the politics quite effectively.

Perhaps the best assessment of Glass' opera was written long before the opera itself. In 1930 Bertolt Brecht, objecting to Igor Stravinsky's cantata *Oedipus Rex*, which was performed entirely in Latin in Berlin, said that such composers "choose to deny all content by performing—or rather smothering—it in the Latin tongue." Brecht regarded several avant-garde operas of the time as desperate attempts to supply the genre with "a posthumous sense, a 'new' sense, by which sense comes ultimately to lie in the music itself, so that the sequence of musical forms acquires a sense simply *qua* sequence, and certain proportions, changes, etc. are promoted from being a means to an end....This sort of progress only indicates that something has been left behind."

Using Sanskrit rather than Latin, Glass still manages to give avant-garde opera "a posthumous sense." Instead of extending the innovations of *Einstein on the Beach*, Glass has inserted his avant-garde music into a traditional opera form. If this process continues, the differences between Philip Glass' music and older, conservative forms will disappear, leaving us with a totally "posthumous" avant-garde. ■

Joel Schechter teaches at the Yale School of Drama.

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CALENDAR

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CAMBRIDGE, MA

December 1

"Worker Cooperatives: A Strategy for Industrial Democracy." Presentation by the Industrial Cooperative Association on lessons from three years' experience assisting worker cooperative development. 4 p.m., Room 150, Ken-

nedy School of Government, 79 Boylston St. (near Harvard Square).

MILWAUKEE, WI

December 4-6

Mobilization for Survival's National Conference will take place Dec. 4, 5 and 6 in Milwaukee, Wisc. Join Holly Near, Holly Sklar, Mel King and other activists in building a movement for disarmament, an end to nuclear power and human needs. Call (212) 533-0008 or (414) 272-0961.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

December 5

Dance benefit for Peoples Translation Service/Newsfront International with SF's own Tropical Nights, plus Local Motion and the

Plutonium Players' Ladies against Women. Saturday 8 p.m.-2 a.m. at The Farm, 1499 Potrero, SF. Advance \$4; Door \$5. Tickets at Modern Times, Old Mole Bookstore, Berkeley, or PTS 4228 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, (415) 654-6725.

CHICAGO, IL

December 5

Women for Peace invite you to "Taste a Little Reaganomics" at their school Lunch Banquet. Speakers include Rep. John Conyers, Dr. Quentin Young, Father Tracy O'Sullivan, David Orr, Polly Connolly and Dovie Thurman. At the Holy Trinity High School, 1443 W. Division at 7:00 p.m. Donation \$4.00/cash bar. For information and tickets, contact Women for Peace, 343 S. Dearborn, suite 305, Chicago, IL 60604. (312) 663-1227.

Islam

Continued from page 12

and French mannered politicians who are selected for our instruction by the network news casting directors, we must learn how our needs are connected with theirs—that is, how our liberation is connected with theirs.

Bourgeois morality is deeply committed to the ongoing production of bourgeois profit. From this point of view it is accurate and not unfair to blame our higher heating fuel and electricity costs on Arabs and Iranians. Those Islamic fanatics who

risked their lives to pull down the modernizing shah disrupted the production of Iranian oil, causing the scarcity that forced up our prices. An account that can recognize different classes' interests, however, can distinguish between the ex-shah with his supporters and the few Iranian workers benefiting from the oil fields, and the majority of Iranians living in a peasant agricultural economy being squeezed dry by the Western-oriented oil economy. It can also distinguish here between the suffering of those who have to count the pennies they spend on petroleum products from those who enjoy counting dollars on the other side of the corporate board table.

The academic/textual twist to Said's presentation is also too limiting. By focusing on textual interpretation, rather than the reality behind it, he cuts us off from the world of activity. As sympathizers with the oppressed and wronged we can intellectually distinguish ourselves from the anti-Semitic and anti-Islamic imperialists we disapprove of. But we must go further, to implement our reoriented understandings.

A final point to bring out here is the situation of the left, which Said's liberal viewpoint fails to take into consideration. Leftists are already skeptical of media-world and the consensus obtaining in the social sciences and humanities. But to assume that that

automatically protects or separates us from that consensus is to overestimate our abilities. In the same way that the liberal racial goal of "colorblindness" ends in blindness to reality, so "anti-imperialist internationalism" is a self-congratulatory phrase whose ideal is easier to articulate than to implement.

If the right looks to the third world for brutal barbarians and the liberal center is satisfied to find exotic, uneducated and sometimes misled primitives, the left has developed its own self-fulfilling caricatures of opiated despots. (Old Karl's Asiatic mode of production was a classic piece of 19th-century Orientalism.) If we want to escape from the misperceptions of the liberal

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consensus, we will have to identify sources of information, as well as attitudes outside of the mainstream tradition. An important element of Said's book is his listing of a number of these, including works by Fred Halliday and publications of the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP).

Said's call, in *Covering Islam*, for a more vigilant and moral understanding of the Islamic world is one we cannot afford to ignore. Nor can we afford not to go beyond it.

Gary Michael Tartakov has written on Asian and Western culture for the *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, *Ars Orientalis* and other publications.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS—National weekly. News of Lavender Left; international gay news. Feminist, non-profit. \$8/12 issues. GCM. Dept. INT, 22 Bromfield St., Boston, MA 02108.

READ IN THESE TIMES reprints. David Moberg's 24 page "Shut-down" reviews the catastrophic effects of plant closings and offers provocative alternatives. Great for classrooms, organizing or just reading. \$1.50 each to: ITT, Box A, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago 60622.

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U.S.-VIETNAM TIES urged on Capitol Hill: Congressional Conference Report, send \$1 to Fund for New

Priorities, 122 East 42nd St., New York, NY 10017.

PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR: Read and distribute "Protest and Survive." New 216-page book contains powerful chapters by Edward P. Thompson, Daniel Ellsberg and others. Price \$4.95. Organization orders: 10 or more—40% discount. Individual orders: \$4.95 (includes postage). Send check with order to Monthly Review Press, Dept. I, 62 West 14th St., New York, NY 10011.

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NATIONAL WORKERS-EDUCATION organization with 400 members seeks applicants for part-time Executive Secretary on contractual basis for one-year term starting March, 1982. Duties include preparation/editing quarterly mailing service/newsletter; maintaining membership records; outreach, publi-

city, etc. Anticipated involvement of 40-50 hours monthly; contractual payment, \$3,360. Suitable for retired worker-educator, graduate student, or free-lancer. Qualifications include editing, clerical skills; commitment to workers' education. Send application, including resume and samples, by Jan. 15, 1982, to: Anne Green, President, Workers Education Local 189, 116 Oakdale, Akron, OH 44302.

COORDINATOR: The National Campaign to Stop the MX seeks a full-time person to coordinate the Campaign staff and office. Other duties include: coordination of publicity activities, responding to information requests, and close consultation with member organizations and local activists. Strong organizing and news media skills, knowledge of arms race issues, ability to work with diverse groups, and at least one year commitment are required. \$15,000 plus health benefits plus paid vacation. Send resume or query to: Mike Mawby, National Campaign to Stop the MX, 305 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 546-2660. The National Campaign is an equal opportunity employer. Women and minorities are encouraged to apply. Application deadline: Dec. 15, 1981. Job begins: Jan. 4, 1982.

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CONFERENCES

THE SHALOM NETWORK invites your participation in the second observance of Chanukat Shalom, a week of Jewish Middle East peace activities taking place during Chanuka, Dec. 21-28. A resource packet (including Israeli and Palestinian poetry, a special candle lighting, appropriate readings for a service,

a bibliography, film list) is available by remitting \$5.00 to Shalom Network c/o Bria Chakofsky, 2503 34th Ave., South, Seattle, WA 98144.

ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL COALITION FOR Democracy in Education, an alliance of major educational organizations, educator and citizens. Write National Coalition, Box ITT, 108 Spring St., Saratoga Springs, NY 12866 for more information.

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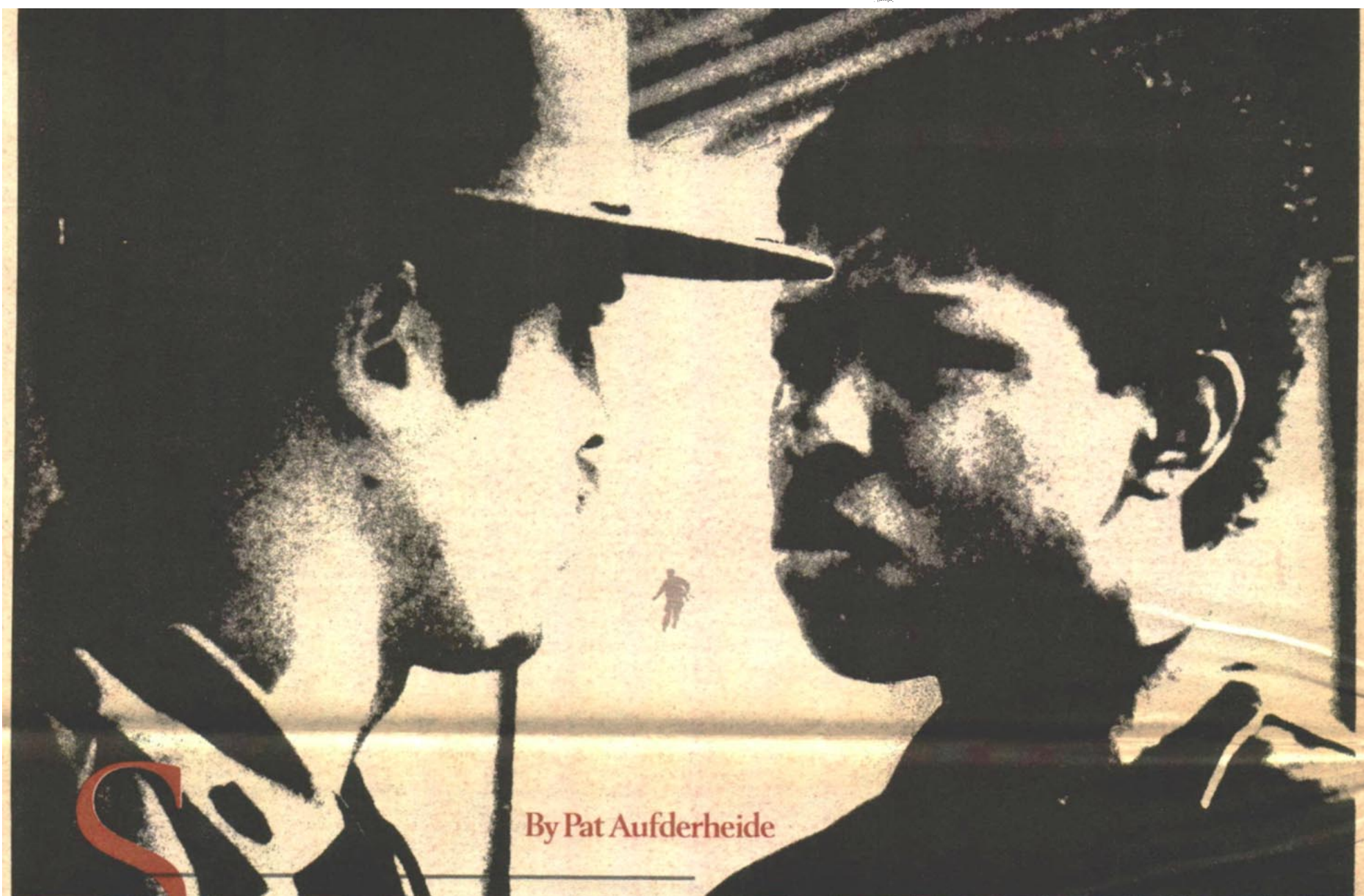
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Girls Don't

Boot camp for women reveals the deadly logic of the Army.



By Pat Aufderheide

Soldier Girls, a 90-minute documentary about women in the Army, is not likely to make the folks at national recruiting headquarters at Fort Sheridan, Ill., very happy. But they can't dispute its veracity. It adds up to a sobering antiwar statement, not by being urgent, but because it breaks through crude stereotypes of military recruitment and training.

It takes everyone involved seriously, from the sergeant in charge of basic training to the women who joined because they couldn't see any other option. Perhaps the most striking thing about the film is that it shows a good deal of sensitivity and human concern on the part of the Army personnel. They are concerned, of course, about turning people into killing machines.

Filmmakers Nick Broomfield and Joan Churchill lived with a group of women going through basic training for three months. (They are both veterans of in-depth documentaries on social issues. Together they made *Tattooed Tears*, which focused on juvenile prison inmates in California. He has made documentaries on slum clearance, tenant organizing and life in a mental hospital, among others; she was cinematographer for *An American Family* and also worked on *Pumping Iron* and *No Nukes*, among others.) They walked on those 50-mile marches and got up at 4:30 a.m. and gradually established a rapport with the women that allowed them to get material you can only get when you have the trust of your subject.

They followed three women through training. Private Hall is a white woman from New Rochelle, N.Y., an eager learner and willing leader who can be a buddy pledge with a terrified recruit and can also harangue a stubborn under-

achiever until the woman attacks her with a shovel. Private Johnson, a black woman from Mississippi, comes to the program with an ironic, twitching smile that protects her from her expectation of failure and from the never-ending punishments of officers who make her tear up her bed, do extra pushups and sit in solitary for her "bad attitude." And then there's Alvez, the increasingly sullen and listless recruit from New Jersey who eventually gets an exhausting third degree for an outburst of violence. By the end of the film some of the group stay and some leave the Army, their motivations slowly exposed during the process of boot camp.

The women undergo a training that, if harsh, also makes a cruel kind of sense. They are given survival lessons, for instance. Sergeant Abing shows them how to kill a chicken if you are caught lost, weaponless and injured—bite its head off. (One wonders how the chicken gets there when you're in a spot like that.) Another sergeant lectures them on what to do after a nuclear blast ("Don't worry, you'll know it when you see it," he says)—bathe if you can, brush off the dust if you can't. Possibly creepier than the advice are questions that show an abysmal ignorance on the subject. One recruit asks if it's true that detonating one bomb will automatically trigger all the others in the world in a "chain reaction." The women are taught to fire a rifle, and Abing reassures the women who are terrified of the gun's report. "This gun can't hurt you," he says. "This gun never hurt anybody."

The filmmakers show rather than tell throughout, and the live-on-camera conflicts usually tell you much more than you could learn more didactically. But the film could have used a bit of narrative information. Why do the women learn

combat techniques, since women presently do not serve in combat? According to recruiters, all women go through the same basic training that men do, and it includes combat duty. What happens to women who don't make it? They don't get a black mark on their record, but are discharged under a special release program.

These qualifications aside, the film's theme comes through clearly simply by showing the training. The Army's biggest job with women is to squelch any expression of emotion. They may have to play for life and death stakes at close quarters, and emotion is dangerous. That's why the women practice chants like "I want to kill an Iranian! Blood! Guts! Kill!" and that's why crying is an offense. As Abing tells them, "If you're emotional you're gonna hurt someone."

When Pvt. Hall wants to sign up for an airborne division, she has a counseling session with Abing, who served his time as an ex-college student in Vietnam and came out of it with the conviction that "the Army didn't lose the war. It was an economic war, fought for ITT, Dupont and Ma Bell, not for the United States." And he tells her the cost of the basic lesson of basic training in a wracking finale.

"A large part of your humanity—your soul or whatever—is gone," he says, talking about his combat experience. "And you don't know it until it is gone. Who doesn't want to be loved, or to love? But I don't have it in me. I can't give nothing to anyone else anymore...I wanna have a family, but there's no way I can do it. There's so much missing...."

Broomfield and Churchill, given a general grant to make a documentary for the Arts, made this film at a time when the issue of women and the draft was first being hotly debated. They want it to provide more information on the continuing

debate and also to address the wider issues.

"One thing we learned," said Broomfield, "is that you can't teach people to kill nicely. If you have an efficient army, people lock out a lot of caring. It was quite a shock for us to see this brutalizing process, where these young, naive girls come in and get chewed out by the sergeants, who are just trying to make them into soldiers."

The fact that they focused on women, Broomfield said, only reinforced the film's general theme. "Men have instant role models to follow—their upbringing and schooling fit in with them being in the military."

"For the women it challenged their sense of identity. It was a much more profound shock. They were more expressive of their emotions, and they found the demands of the Army harder to take. But in going through it, I think they also showed up the futility of the whole operation much more than if they had been men."

This documentary exhibits a rare thoughtfulness in composition. It never loses a sharp editorial focus while also keeping the filmmakers' personalities in the background. Joan Churchill said, "The challenge for us is to make films that are entertaining and informative, where audiences are thrown into a situation and have to make up their own minds."

"Reality is never as simple as it's often portrayed in documentaries where they take a sort of tunnel view." This one gains its strength from revealing the shades of character not only among the recruits but also among the men and women who train them to kill.

For more information contact First Run Features, 144 Bleeker St., N.Y., NY 10012, (212) 673-6881.